

# The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, JANUARY 28, 1886.

## The Week.

GENERAL LOGAN is a Senator with whose political views we often have to disagree, but there is a certain manliness about his methods which commands the public respect. This quality was displayed during the fortnight after the Presidential election of 1884, when he accepted defeat in dignified silence, while Mr. Blaine was secretly trying to find some way of getting around the popular verdict, and openly abusing the majority of the national jury for deciding against him the case which he had submitted to them. The same quality was again exhibited on Thursday, when the Illinois Senator made a vigorous attempt to persuade his colleagues to consider all executive business hereafter with open doors. General Logan declared that the people of the United States had as much right to know what was said and done in regard to nominations as in regard to legislation, that they were equally interested in both, and that it would be to the advantage of the Senate, the President, the public, and the men whose nominations were under consideration, to have the doors kept open, and all the proceedings of the Senate conducted in the presence of the people. This is the exact truth, and General Logan deserves the heartiest praise for violating all the precedents of the body to which he belongs, and declaring for the rights of the public. The Senate rejected his proposition by an overwhelming majority, but it will have to accept his platform one of these days. The un-republican, un-American secret session, which is a survival of the worst traditions of the "effete despotisms of Europe," must be abolished.

Senator Van Wyck, of Nebraska, has been sedulously and for a long time earning for himself the title of the buffoon of the Senate. If anybody had thought of disputing that distinction with him, the futility of such rivalry became apparent on his introducing a bill to prohibit the making of contracts payable in gold. Even in the height of crass foolishness which overtook Congress in the dark days of the war, when gold was an object of mingled detestation and alarm, and when the law-making power was invoked to "strike it down," nobody thought of prohibiting gold contracts. The short-lived anti-gold bill of Thaddeus Stevens merely prohibited gold contracts in cases where the gold was not actually delivered, *i. e.*, ordinary gold-room contracts, where only "differences" were paid by buyers and sellers. Anybody who wanted to buy or sell gold by the process of actual delivery remained at full liberty to do so. The well-remembered effect of the Stevens anti-gold law was to put up the price of gold from about 220 to 280 within a few days, at the end of which time the law was repealed, much to the humiliation of its advocates. It is not to be supposed that Mr. Van Wyck is serious about this matter. If he is, then he is serious for the first time within public recollection.

We have much pleasure in calling the attention of our unfortunate contemporary, the *Sun*, to the unanimous report of the Civil-Service Committee of the House against all the bills repealing or modifying the Civil-Service Law. If it inquires the cause of this untoward event, we can inform it that the explanation has been furnished of late in its own columns. It is due in part to the hypocrisy of the Jeffersonians in the House, who hate the law, but see that it would damage them to attack it; so they basely pretend to like it and let it alone. It is due in part, also, as Judge Seney says, who brought in one of the repealing bills, to the fact that Republicans like it because it ties the hands of the Democrats, and "a good many Democrats favor it because it takes a good deal of trouble off their hands and they are not troubled by applicants for office." This is correct, but what a picture it presents of the political morals of the Jeffersonians—some so deceitful, according to one correspondent of the *Sun*, that they pretend to like the law when they hate it; and some so selfish and lazy, according to another, that they favor it because it saves them trouble.

Two notable cases of "abandonment" have taken place within a short time which have not attracted so much attention as they deserved. The first occurred on the 9th inst., at Providence, R. I., when ex-Senator Hill, of Colorado, formally repudiated international bimetalism, declaring that it is "repugnant to the experience and practice of the world for thousands of years. Never," he added, "until Cernuschi made his appearance as a financial discoverer, was the doctrine heard of that it was necessary to the use of the metals as the world's money that they should both be used as money in every country." Mr. Hill then made an argument to show that the United States is able "to turn the scale in favor of silver" by its own unaided strength. Being himself perhaps the largest producer of silver in the country, he would lend a great deal of strength to the effort required to turn the scale. Incidentally he trod heavily on the toes of the capitalist classes, whom he called "financial Pharaohs." We are not surprised to find that Mr. Hill has a low opinion of all such. Indeed, we were prepared to expect it by his recent denunciations of Senator Teller, whose election to the place formerly occupied by Hill was ascribed by him to the influence of overweening "organizations of wealth"; leading us to infer that a poor man like Hill has no chance in Colorado. One statement of fact in Mr. Hill's Providence speech we must really take exceptions to. He says that "an importation of silver from Europe is impossible because that continent has no stock except its coinages, in which silver is rated about 3 per cent. higher than it is in our dollars and more than 20 per cent. higher than it will command to-day in our markets." It was officially communicated to the last Paris monetary conference that the German Government had about \$75,000,000 worth of silver *bullion* to dispose of, and one of the stipulations talked of was that Germany should agree not to sell this silver for some years to

come, provided the other governments would agree to open their mints to free coinage. We have not heard of the selling of this silver by Germany since the adjournment of the conference, and even if it has been sold it has probably not been swallowed by anybody, but must exist somewhere in the form of bullion, and therefore cannot be 20 per cent. or any per cent. higher in price "than it will command to-day in our markets."

The other case of abandonment occurred nearer home. The guilty party, we regret to say, is our esteemed Butler contemporary, the *Sun*, which has not only abandoned international bimetalism, but all kinds of bimetalism, and declared itself for the single silver standard in these words:

"Thus monometallism seems to be the only safe and wise course. By our present legislation this country is moving surely though slowly away from gold, which is now our standard, toward silver. There seems to be no possibility of arresting this movement. Congress cannot be brought to repeal the present law providing for a steady coinage of silver; and, although the operation of this law is slow and gradual, it is sure, and, after a few years more under it, silver will be our only standard money, and the gold will be gone. Will this result be good? Will it be beneficial? We think so, and we see no good reason for travelling any longer toward the benefit by the slow and circuitous route that we have hitherto pursued."

The depositors in our savings banks who have been laying up gold or gold value these many years against a rainy day, may be angered against the *Sun* for supporting a policy which avowedly aims to reduce the value of their savings 20 per cent., but they should bear in mind that its course is the result of "honest conviction," and that it is designed to reduce the amount of evil in the world, by gradually extirpating its proverbial root, money. As for the capitalists, they are all (except ex-Senator Hill and the editor of the *Chicago Tribune*) so hardened to the existence of evil that they will stick to gold through thick and thin. We recommend them, now that there is plainly an abandonment of bimetalism on the part of the silverites, to abandon it also, and adopt for their own the query of Mr. Stanley Matthews, "What have we to do with abroad?" It is time to stop fooling with Paris conferences and get in line of battle for the gold standard and nothing else.

There are encouraging signs that sound ideas as to the government of cities are slowly winning acceptance in this country. A striking evidence of this tendency, which has not received the attention that it merits, is to be found in Governor Foraker's recent inaugural address. Ohio is the last State in the Union from which one would expect to hear sound doctrine on such a theme, and Mr. Foraker, judging him from his bloody-shirt tirades on the stump, is the last man one would expect to hear preaching such doctrine. It is, therefore, the more noteworthy that he should have given the Legislature one of the best recent contributions to the discussion of the municipal problem. The Governor points out very forcibly the chief defect of the traditional

system of city government, in the fact that responsibility is so divided among a multitude of officials that nobody can be held to account, the result being that "practically the entire city government falls into the hands of men selected without that care and consideration that should be exercised." He recognizes that there is only one remedy—"a fixing of responsibility so there may be accountability"; and only one way of applying it—"there should therefore be the fewest possible number of elective officials." If the duties of an office are not important enough to impress the people who elect the incumbent with the necessity of care in his selection, he holds that the office should either be abolished or be filled by appointment. He therefore recommends that the whole subject of municipal government in Ohio be carefully investigated, and meanwhile advises the law-makers not only to stop multiplying elective boards or minor officials of any sort, but to abolish all unnecessary boards now in existence, and make such changes in the laws as will impose upon mayors the duty of appointing such boards as may be necessary. To the objection that this would be conferring too much power and authority on one man, his answer is the sufficient one that "the importance of the trust is calculated to induce the people to select only worthy and competent men, and the fact that there cannot be any evasion in such case of accountability will be the strongest incentive to a faithful discharge of duty."

For some years past Massachusetts has regulated the liquor traffic by a local-option system, which allows any city or town to decide by popular vote whether the sale shall be licensed; and, if so, leaves the local authorities to determine how many licenses shall be granted. There are 348 cities and towns in the State. Half-a-dozen towns did not vote on the question last year; 230 refused to grant licenses; and 112, including nearly all the cities, voted in favor of license. The aggregate vote in favor of license was 92,419, and against the system 81,161. There was thus a majority in the State of 11,258 for license, although about two-thirds of the municipalities declared against the principle. Nearly 10,000 of this majority was contributed by Boston. It would thus require but a small change in public sentiment to produce a majority in favor of absolute prohibition throughout the State upon a general vote on this question. The Prohibitionists would consider it a great victory for their cause if they could secure a popular majority in their favor in this way, but such a majority would not at all affect the vital question, which is how most effectually to restrict the sale of liquor in places where public sentiment will not sustain prohibition. If the question had been submitted to the voters of Massachusetts last year whether any licenses should be granted anywhere within its limits, and 6,000 men in the smaller towns had voted no instead of yes, there would have been a majority in the State against any licenses, but with Boston voting 19,621 to 10,445, or almost two to one, for license, and therefore against prohibition, the result would simply have been that liquor would have continued to be sold in Boston, because the local sentiment of that city sustains the sale, while

the public treasury would have lost the \$502,340 which was paid into it by the sellers under the license system.

The decision of Judge Brewer in the United States Circuit Court at Topeka, which declares that the State of Kansas must make good to the owners of a brewery in Lawrence the value of property which was virtually confiscated by the enactment of the prohibitory law, is obviously just. Before 1880 the brewing of beer was as free from restriction in Kansas as the milling of flour, and when the Legislature enacted a statute forbidding the further brewing of beer, it made every brewery worthless. To pass such a law without compensating the owners of breweries for the losses thus imposed upon them is simply to legalize robbery by society in its organized capacity. The Federal courts are bound to protect the injured citizen in his rights if he can secure no redress from the State, and there is no doubt that the Supreme Court will sustain Judge Brewer if the case is carried to Washington. Section 1 of the Fourteenth Amendment provides that "no State shall deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law," and the highest tribunal has already gone on record, in the case of *Bartemeyer vs. Iowa*, some years ago, as holding that, while a State may regulate, and even prohibit, the traffic in intoxicating liquors, it may not deprive the owner of property in which he had invested under a permissive system, without making him due amends. The decision is of more practical importance in Iowa than in Kansas. The latter State has never gone extensively into the manufacture of liquors of any kind, but the census of 1880 showed that Iowa had 114 establishments for the production of malt liquors and three distilleries, which reported an aggregate capital of about \$2,100,000. But it must be remembered that this represents only the value returned for purposes of assessment and taxation, and that the actual investment was much greater than this estimate. The larger share of this was undoubtedly invested in buildings and machinery, which prohibition rendered worthless, and the State is thus bound by Judge Brewer's decision to pay over some millions to the people who were interested in such establishments when the law was passed—or, rather, the State would be bound to such a course if the law were enforced, for we believe it is a fact that some of the largest breweries in Iowa are still in operation.

The wisdom of deliberation about the admission of Territories into the Union is not enforced alone by the nation's sad experience with Nevada. Most people have forgotten all about it by this time, but it is a fact that nearly twelve years ago, in May, 1874, the House of Representatives, then Republican by more than two to one, voted by an overwhelming majority to admit New Mexico into the Union, and that only the conservatism of the Senate saved the country from having the little band of "greasers" in that Territory wielding as much power in the upper branch of Congress to-day as the five millions of people in New York. The utter untrustworthiness of

politicians' estimates of population was strikingly shown in the case of New Mexico. One advocate of admission in 1874 declared that the Territory had then at least 130,000 people, while the census of 1880 showed only 119,565. The history of the country proves that the nation has never regretted delay in erecting a Territory into a State, while in the case of Nevada it suffers serious harm from undue haste, and in the case of New Mexico must rejoice at its narrow escape from a blunder that would have been no less serious. The moral is plain in the cases of Montana, Washington, and Dakota, which are now under discussion. The two former should wait at least until the question of their boundaries is decided by dividing northern Idaho between them, while nothing should be done about Dakota until it is made clear by a decisive test whether a majority of the people in the Territory favor the pending scheme for its division, which there is strong reason to doubt.

Florida has been making steady and rapid progress ever since it emerged from the conflicts and confusion of the reconstruction period nine years ago. Northern people have been settling there in large numbers, and the development of the State has gone forward with a speed that quite amazed the survivors of the slow-going era before the war. There is, however, reason to believe that Florida has suffered a serious check during the past month. The "cold spell" has undoubtedly frightened a great many intending settlers out of the idea of going where the mercury has shown itself capable of sinking almost as low as it falls in New York city, and it will be many years before the memory of the damage inflicted upon the orange crop in the opening days of 1886 will cease to deter the Northern prospector who is of a cautious turn of mind. News of the unexpected harshness of nature has unfortunately been accompanied by reports of frauds on the part of man which will perhaps prove even more serious in their effect. During the past few weeks a number of speculators have done a great business in selling Florida lands to people who knew nothing at all about what they were buying. It turns out, as might have been expected, that some advertisements have flagrantly misrepresented the facts, and that thousands of people have been paying good money for bad land. Some of the swindles appear to be as outrageous as have ever been known in the long history of such frauds in this country, and the exposures will inevitably prejudice people against the State so strongly that it will be hard work for the owners of good land in Florida to sell it for a long time to come. It is, by the way, a remarkable illustration of popular credulity that men and women who would never think of accepting another person's representations about a piece of goods which they contemplated buying in their own city, but would insist upon examining into the matter themselves, will swallow any story, however absurd on its face, about real estate in a remote part of the country.

The discovery of a case of "Irish landlordism" in Illinois, Kansas, and Nebraska, all

carried on by one man, a certain Scully, of "Celtic birth," which is reported in the morning papers, is very startling, and shows what an insidious thing this "Irish landlordism" is. It appears that Scully lives in London, and yet he "builds up his system" in any State of the Union he pleases. "His rule," it appears, "has reduced two hundred and fifty (250) tenants," in one county in Illinois, and their families, "to a state of serfdom." His process is to make them sign agreements to pay rent and taxes, and sell their grain always in the fall, no matter what the state of the market may be, and he notifies the grain-dealers not to buy of the tenants till his rent is paid. How the dealers are kept from buying, or how they are all notified, the report does not say, but presumably with bloodhounds. Nor does the report set out why Scully's serfs do not run away, but presumably he chains them to the soil, mediæval fashion. If he would only live here, he might be shot, but the cunning Celtic rascal keeps himself in London, and collects his rents in the regular Irish fashion, through an agent who probably transmits the money to him in gold. The affair is very startling, and calls for some action on the part of somebody.

Gladstone's splendid opening of the session of Parliament on Thursday, winning over the Irish, overpowering the mutinous Liberals, and bringing Parnell to his feet to talk like a statesman, is undoubtedly one of the most important events of the day. It was the best possible answer to the words of sullen and somewhat brutal defiance which Salisbury, after much backing and filling, at the last moment, had the audacity to put into the mouth of the Queen. His proverbial good fortune was never more apparent than in the way he has again foiled his enemies. The Tories had prepared a careful ambush for him by which he was to bring in a resolution providing for the legislative independence of Ireland, on which the Ministry was to fall and then go to the country in defence of "the unity of the empire." Lord Salisbury, however, overreached himself in his preparations, because he put into the Queen's speech a threat against the Irish for doing a perfectly constitutional thing—namely, seeking the repeal of an act of Parliament—for the Union rests simply on an act like another, which Parliament may any day repeal. This gave Gladstone and the Irish an excellent excuse for debating the Irish question without pushing their arguments home, or producing any programme, and furnished both with an occasion for the display of their very best oratory, and left the Ministry in a position of great embarrassment.

Lord Salisbury's Ministry has come to an end, sooner, probably, than its enemies expected. For a few weeks after the election its prospects were considered very gloomy, but its position was considered to have sensibly improved after it had leaked out that Mr. Gladstone was ready to concede to the Irish some form of home rule. The burst of indignation which this excited in "society," and in the clubs, and among the Whigs, led the Tory chiefs very naturally to

regard it as a blunder which was to give the battle to their hands, and they made elaborate preparations to take advantage of it. They raised the cry of danger to the empire, got the Queen to open Parliament in person with much pomp as a sort of solemn protest against it, and made her speak of the Act of Union as a "fundamental law," and of the Irish agitation for its repeal as if it were treasonable, and then prepared to meet Gladstone and the Irish on this ground, and, if defeated, to dissolve Parliament on the Union issue.

The expectation of the Ministry undoubtedly was that on this occasion the amendment would relate to the Irish question, and would raise the home-rule issue at once, and that on this the Ministry could well afford to be defeated, and dissolve Parliament. But the Opposition were too shrewd for them. They discussed the Irish question, giving Parnell and Sexton a chance to make very quieting and moderate speeches, but they attacked the address in the interest of the new county voters. Mr. Collings, who more particularly represents the labor interest in the House, moved an amendment deploring the omission from the Queen's speech of all proposals for legislation in aid of the acquisition of small holdings by laborers in the country districts. This, whatever may be the economic or other objections to it, is something on which it would be useless to dissolve. In an election on this issue the Conservatives would probably lose every county. Accordingly, when defeated on it, there was nothing for them but to go out of office, and this they are to do to-day.

The great success of Mr. Sexton's speech in the House of Commons on Friday night does not foreshadow an immediate success for the Home-Rulers. But it shows what is really an immense advance, viz., that the Irish question has at last taken firm hold of English public opinion. Formerly, paying serious attention to what Irishmen said about it was the last thing Englishmen and Scotchmen in the House thought of. In fact, an Irish debate, initiated by Irish members, used generally to drive the Englishmen away. Parnell began to be listened to more or less attentively after the Land League was formed in 1881, but Sexton, the only one of the Home-Rulers who makes any show as an orator, generally addressed empty benches. With eighty-five votes behind him, and talking with a certain authority on the great topic of the day, he will probably gain in power, and in some degree revive the old traditions of Irish Parliamentary eloquence, which in the hands of the Parnellites have well-nigh died out. There is in the last *Contemporary Review* a clever dialogue between Parnell and the Shade of Grattan, in which the former, however, ably defends the failure of himself and his followers to maintain the old glories of Irish oratory, by pointing to the greater success of their own methods in impressing themselves on the English mind.

The Greeks armed in 1877, and prepared to assist the Montenegrins in attacking the Turks,

but (they said in deference to the urgent remonstrances of England and the other Powers) refrained from taking any part in the conflict. They then found that at the Berlin Conference, as usual, their peaceable demeanor, instead of securing consideration for them, made them objects of contempt to the "blood and iron" men, and they got with great difficulty only a small extension of their frontier in Epirus. Even this, however, the Turks refused to surrender, when the Conference was over, and only after much parleying, and after considerable pressure from Mr. Gladstone, who had come into power, the Greeks got a part, little, over half, of what the Conference awarded them. This was a very mortifying result, and it was made more so by the fact that Greece was the only one of the small States surrounding Turkey in Europe which had not fired a shot or lost a man in the great Russo-Turkish struggle. She has now armed again, but, as before, the Bulgarians and Servians had fought and made peace before the Greeks could bring themselves to strike a blow, and they are once more threatened with a settlement of the Balkan question which will leave them out in the cold. They are very proud, however, and dread keenly the European laughter which their second fiasco would excite—the more keenly because they have managed until now to keep up a very respectable military reputation based on their War of Independence. A second taking of the field without fighting would, however, not leave a shred of this reputation, and would destroy all chance of a proper share of the spoils in the final distribution of the Turkish Empire which every one feels is approaching. So they go forth either to fight or to find somebody who will prevent their fighting by overwhelming force, which will answer their purpose perhaps nearly as well. If the British fleet will not let them attack the Turks, it will serve nearly the same purpose as attacking the Turks, and be much less expensive.

The precarious position of the Salisbury Ministry in England has naturally encouraged the Greeks to disregard the British prohibition against attacking Turkey—the more so as England is the only Power likely to impede their naval operations. They have only three ironclads and about a dozen other vessels of iron or wood, a squadron of gunboats, and about sixty torpedo-boats. The Turks, on the other hand, have 3 first-class, 4 second-class, and 8 third-class ironclads, but hardly anything else. There has been talk of equipping a number of torpedo-boats, but it has not come to anything, we believe, for want of funds. Of this fleet the Greeks are not in the least afraid, relying, as in 1821, on their immensely superior seamanship. In fact, as regards officers and crews, no comparison is possible, and it is very doubtful whether the Turkish ships would venture outside the Dardanelles, and expose themselves to the dauntless courage and ingenuity of the Greek cruisers, which has, there is every reason to believe, in no way declined since the days of Kanaris. There is, too, to-day a firm belief in Greece, that it is only necessary to fight gallantly to enlist the sympathies of Europe in any contest with the Turks. The experience of Montenegro and Servia and Bulgaria seems to demonstrate this.

## SUMMARY OF THE WEEK'S NEWS.

[WEDNESDAY, January 20, to TUESDAY, January 26, 1886, inclusive.]

## DOMESTIC.

In the United States Senate on Wednesday, Mr. Morrill (Rep., Vt.) made an elaborate reply to Mr. Beck's recent silver speech.

In a debate on the Electoral Count Bill in the Senate on Thursday, Mr. Sherman offered an amendment striking out the clauses which allow either house to exclude a State, and providing that, in case of disagreement between the two houses, the question in dispute shall be submitted to a joint convention of both houses, which joint convention "shall immediately, without debate, upon the roll-call of the respective houses, vote upon the question or questions upon which there has been such a disagreement, and the decision of the majority of the members of the joint convention present shall be deemed final and conclusive, and the vote shall be counted accordingly by the President of the Senate." This did not please Mr. Edmunds.

The Senate devoted Tuesday to eulogies upon Vice-President Hendricks. Mr. Voorhees and Mr. Evarts were among the speakers.

Mr. Edmunds, from the Judiciary Committee, on Monday reported to the Senate a resolution, "That the Attorney-General be, and he hereby is, directed to furnish the Senate with all the papers in the possession of the Department of Justice touching the suspension of George M. Duskin, late United States District Attorney for the Southern District of Alabama, and the appointment of John D. Burnett as his successor." This was adopted, the Democrats not voting.

The House of Representatives, on Wednesday, passed the bill which had passed the Senate to authorize the purchase by the Government of the old Produce Exchange building in this city, at a cost of \$250,000 for the land and structure and \$200,000 for alterations and repairs.

In the House Committee on Foreign Affairs on Thursday, Mr. Belmont submitted a plan of consolidating the minor diplomatic missions so as to increase the appropriations for and the efficiency of the first-class missions without increasing the aggregate cost, and at his suggestion it was determined to ask the opinion of the State Department as to the desirability of these consolidations, and as to the importance of duties at these minor posts.

The House Committee on Banking and Currency on Thursday voted to report favorably the Wilkins bill which permits national banks to issue circulation to the par of bonds deposited as security for circulation.

The Fortifications Board, of which Secretary Endicott is President, reports to Congress that \$126,000,000 are necessary to put the coast in a proper state of defence, and recommends that \$25,000,000 be immediately appropriated.

Charles J. Canda was nominated on Wednesday by the President for the post of Assistant Treasurer in this city. Mr. Canda was born in Paris, France, and is about fifty-two years of age. His first prominence in business matters was attained while he was connected with William B. Ogden, with whom he remained until about twelve years ago. During his connection with Mr. Ogden he acted as his general manager. In 1875 he was appointed Treasurer of the Democratic National Committee. During the past four or five years Mr. Canda has been managing embarrassed railway organizations, acting especially in this capacity for Amsterdam bankers and investors. He is also largely interested in locomotive and car works upon the Ohio River, and is prominently identified with the management of the Lake Superior iron industry. He is a business and political friend of S. J. Tilden.

Attorney-General Garland has declined to take any part in the telephone case, and has

placed its entire management in the hands of the Solicitor-General.

Senator Vest, in a letter to ex-Governor Crittenden, of Missouri, explaining his failure to secure for the latter a foreign mission, says: "When Cockrell named you the President said he could not entertain the idea; that in the East you were believed to have bargained with the Fords for the killing of Jesse James, and, whether true or not, he could not shoulder public opinion on the subject."

Senator Payne has sent a letter to the Chairman of the recently appointed Investigating Committee of the lower house of the Ohio Legislature (referring to the charge that he obtained his seat by bribery), in which he says: "I propose to give it appropriate attention. For myself I invite the most thorough and rigid scrutiny. My private correspondence and books of account will be cheerfully submitted to your inspection if you desire it. I only insist, in case any testimony is given which in the slightest degree inculcates me, I may be afforded an opportunity of appearing before the Committee."

Mr. Dorman B. Eaton has resigned from the Civil-Service Commission, from the date of March 9. He says in his letter to the President: "The political question which seems to have been raised over my nomination, and which did not allow an earlier offer of my resignation, makes it proper for me to say that when you nominated me you well knew the fact that I was still an adherent of the Republican party, as I had been from its origin, in every sense that I was a Republican when appointed a Commissioner either by President Grant or by President Arthur."

Mr. Cannon, Comptroller of the Currency, has resigned in order to enter into business.

In the New York State Senate on Wednesday the bill incorporating the Grant Memorial Association was passed unanimously.

Robert Ray Hamilton introduced a resolution in the New York Assembly on Monday evening, which was adopted, requesting "the Senators and Representatives of this State to use their utmost endeavors to secure the repeal of the law commonly known as the Bland Act, and that they be, and they hereby are, requested to urge such legislation as will maintain the currency of the country upon its present basis, and preserve the obligations of the United States from depreciation and the confidence of its creditors from disappointment." The resolution was reconsidered on Tuesday in order to allow opportunity for a full and free discussion.

The American Opera Company, Limited, has just been formed, as a permanent organization for carrying on the American opera enterprise which has been begun at the Academy of Music. The capital is to be \$250,000, divided into fifty shares. C. E. Locke is to be the salaried manager of the company, whose incorporators include many well-known residents of New York and other cities.

Mr. William D. Sloane and his wife, who is a daughter of the late William H. Vanderbilt, have offered to build and equip a maternity hospital on a part of the land given by Mr. Vanderbilt as the site of a new building for the College of Physicians and Surgeons. The building will be begun at once.

By the will of Isaac D. Farnsworth, of Boston, Wellesley College receives \$100,000 for a fine-arts college building.

Serious riots occurred on Wednesday and Thursday between striking coke workers in western Pennsylvania and the police. 5,000 men have joined the strike.

One of the severest storms that have ever visited the Pacific Coast began on January 17, and reached its height soon after noon on January 20. It extended from the northern boundary of Washington Territory to the southern boundary of California, and from the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific Ocean. On Wednesday the storm was a hurricane in San Fran-

cisco, unroofing houses and blowing down buildings, and even lifting cars from the tracks.

James T. Farley, who was United States Senator from California from 1879 to 1885, died on Friday after a long illness, at the age of fifty-seven. He was a Democrat.

Representative Joseph Rankin, of the Fifth Wisconsin District, died on Sunday in Washington, aged fifty-six. He was a member of the last Congress, and came from his home in a special car to the present session, though dying, in order to take his seat.

## FOREIGN.

The opening of Parliament, on Thursday, by the Queen in person was a brilliant spectacle. In the House of Lords was a distinguished assemblage. The Queen appeared very well. Princess Beatrice and the Prince of Wales stood on one side of the throne. After reviewing foreign affairs the Queen's speech said: "I have seen with deep sorrow the renewal, since I last addressed you, of the attempt to excite the people of Ireland to hostility against the legislative union between that country and Great Britain. I am resolutely opposed to any disturbance of that fundamental law, and in resisting it I am convinced that I shall be heartily supported by my Parliament and my people. Although there has been during the last year no marked increase of serious crime, there is in many places a concerted resistance to the enforcement of legal obligations, and I regret that the practice of organized intimidation continues to exist. I have caused every exertion to be used for the detection and punishment of these crimes, and no effort will be spared on the part of my Government to protect my Irish subjects in the exercise of their legal rights and in the enjoyment of individual liberty. If, as my information leads me to apprehend, the existing provisions of the law should prove to be inadequate to cope with these growing evils, I shall look with confidence to your willingness to invest my Government with all the necessary powers. Bills will be submitted for transferring to representative councils in the counties of Great Britain local business which is now transacted by the Courts of Quarter Sessions and other authorities. A measure for the reform of county government in Ireland is also in preparation. These measures will involve the consideration of the present incidence of local burdens. A bill for facilitating the sale of glebe lands in a manner adapted to the wants of the rural population will also be submitted to you—as will also bills for removing the difficulties which prevent the easy and cheap transfer of land; for mitigating the distressed condition of the poorer classes in the western highlands and the islands of Scotland; for the more effectual prevention of accidents in mines; for extending the powers of the Railway Commission in respect to the regulation of rates, and for the codification of the criminal law."

After the reading of the Queen's speech, Lord Salisbury, referring to Ireland, said the Government had refrained from renewing the Crimes Act because there had been a prospect of returning order in that country. The experiment, however, had failed, although every chance had been given to make it succeed. Nothing, he said, could exceed the patience of the Earl of Carnarvon in carrying out his mission of peace. The disease, said Lord Salisbury, existed in Westminster and not in Ireland, and the Government must try to stamp it out there. The words of Mr. Gladstone, he declared, were answerable for many Irish evils. The House of Lords on Thursday agreed to the address in reply to the Queen's speech.

In the House of Commons Mr. Gladstone spoke for one hour and twenty minutes. He congratulated Lord Salisbury on the conduct of the Government in the Rumelian affair. In regard to Ireland Mr. Gladstone said he wished the Queen's speech had been more explicit. He was convinced that only a gentle and conciliatory handling of the Irish question would

be effectual. He had always striven to eliminate the elements of wrath and passion in discussing Ireland. The exercise of candor and justice could alone afford the smallest hope of solving the difficulty. "Whatever," he continued, "it may be necessary to do for Ireland should be done promptly. In the name of heaven, let us maintain the Union. We have been maintaining it for eighty-five—yes, six hundred years. Let us not deviate from the path of good temper and self-command, but, forgetful of every prejudice, let us strive to do justice to the great, the gigantic interests committed to our charge." Mr. Gladstone said that in seeking a reflection he was mainly guided by a wish to proceed with proposals in regard to both the legislative and the social position of Ireland. Only the Government, however, was able to act in such a matter. He, believing it would be mischievous to do so, did not intend to introduce proposals of his own, but he would reserve his opinion. Mr. Parnell said he had always believed that if the principle were admitted that Ireland was entitled to some form of self-government, the settlement of the details would not be found a formidable task; and that there would be no great difficulty in securing the empire against separation. The whole question was one of reasonable or exorbitant rents. He denied that the National League encouraged boycotting. The Nationalist members, he said, on seeing the manifest desire of England to weigh the Irish question calmly, had resolved that no extravagance of word or action on their part should mar the first fair chance Ireland ever had. Lord Randolph Churchill, in proposing that the debate be adjourned, said he wished it to be clearly understood that it would be impossible for the present Government ever to sanction an Irish Parliament.

Mr. O'Brien's amendment in the House of Commons to the address in reply to the Queen's speech says: "This House, with the view of insuring respect for law and order, should consider as soon as possible measures by which the Irish courts will be enabled to stay evictions and arrange a settlement between tenants and landlords." In the debate on the address on Friday night, Mr. Sexton, member from Sligo, spoke for an hour in his most eloquent manner. In the course of his speech, he said: "A rising in arms by the rebel population of Rumania is conclusive proof to the royal mind of the justice of their cause, but the election by five-sixths of the population of Ireland, instead of being dealt with like a rising in arms as an expression of the desire of the people, is to be treated, in the language of the sovereign, as simply a regrettable and deplorable attempt to excite hostility against legislative union. What is the moral the Government wants to drive home to the people of Ireland? It is false and delusive to say that the integrity of the empire, the supremacy of the Crown, and the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament are called into question by the demands of the Irish people." A very significant incident followed: "Perhaps the chief reason," continued Mr. Sexton slowly, "why the honorable member for Cork refrained from moving an amendment to the address upon the present occasion was that the right honorable member for Midlothian had repeatedly affirmed, with the consent of the country, and, as he believed, of all reasonable Englishmen, that he was favorable to the settlement of the claim of the Irish nation to a national Legislature, provided the integrity of the empire and the rights of the Crown were guaranteed." Then, in view of the whole House, Mr. Gladstone deliberately nodded three times. Everybody saw it, and wild and prolonged cheers broke from the Irish party.

New procedure rules of a very sweeping nature were laid on the table by the Government in the House of Commons on Friday night. They make a quorum of 100 instead of 40; establish a large committee system to save the time of the House; make the hours of sessions from 2 to 7 and 9 to 12 p. m., all business

to stop at half-past 12, and Parliament to adjourn in July and reassemble in October.

The Conservative Government on Monday changed front and resolved to let the Irish coercion question come up before the new procedure rules, which it consented to modify so as to provide that the House of Commons should meet at 4 and adjourn at 1, abolishing the proposed dinner interval.

In the House of Lords on Monday afternoon the Earl of Kilmorey, Conservative, moved the abolition of the office of Viceroy of Ireland, but afterward withdrew the motion.

In the House of Commons on Tuesday afternoon Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, the Conservative leader, gave notice that the Government would introduce on Thursday a bill to suppress the Irish National League and other dangerous societies, to prevent intimidation, to protect life and property, and to maintain public order in Ireland. This announcement was greeted with loud cheers. Sir Michael said he would ask the House to give the bill precedence. He added that this measure would be followed by a bill dealing with the Irish land question on the lines of policy indicated by the land-purchase act of last session. Mr. Collings then moved an amendment to the address, expressing regret that the Queen's speech contemplated no measures for the relief of suffering in Ireland in consequence of the depression in trade and agriculture; particularly through facilities to farm laborers for obtaining allotments of small holdings on equitable terms (derisively characterized as a "three acres and a cow" measure). Mr. Gladstone strongly supported, and the Marquis of Hartington opposed, the amendment, which was adopted by a vote of 329 to 250, the ayes including 78 Parnellites as well as Messrs. Gladstone, Chamberlain, Dilke, Trevelyan, Labouchere, and Bradlaugh. Among the noes were Lord Hartington, and Messrs. Goschen, Courtney, and Lubbock. Parliament was adjourned till Thursday, when the Ministry will announce their resignation.

The guards of the principal public buildings were doubled on Saturday, and there were indications of unusual police vigilance in every quarter. It is asserted that this activity on the part of the police is occasioned by the fact that the authorities have become cognizant of threats of violence uttered in consequence of the unsatisfactory character of that portion of the Queen's speech referring to the Irish question. The Prince of Wales, while visiting at Chester, was carefully guarded.

The tunnel under the Mersey, connecting Liverpool and Birkenhead, was formally opened on Wednesday by the Prince of Wales and his two sons, Princes Albert and George.

Madame Louise Mourey, who, with Mr. Stead, editor of the *Pall Mall Gazette*, and others, was convicted in November last in connection with the Armstrong abduction case, and sentenced to six months' imprisonment, died on Friday in Millbank Prison of Bright's disease.

Joseph Mayer, F. S. A., a famous English archaeologist, numismatist, author, and philanthropist, died on Thursday, lacking but one month of being eighty-three years old. He was a jeweller by trade.

The Eastern war excitement was revived on Sunday. It was announced that the Grecian Army would soon be ordered to cross the frontier into Turkey. A Greek fleet sailed on Sunday from Athens under sealed orders. England officially informed Greece that she was prepared to send a fleet to prevent the latter from attacking Turkey by sea. The Greek Premier replied that his country would not disarm; that the representations of England infringe on international and diplomatic observance, and that Greece reserves perfect freedom of action. The answer further says that Greece has not declared war, nor has she given cause for England to interfere regarding her attitude. Bulgaria having violated the treaty of Berlin under the aegis of

England, Greece is justified in using every means in her power, and even to resort to arms, if necessary, to obtain the concessions the treaty of Berlin gave her. Greece will maintain her claim to Thessaly and Epirus, no matter what the cost may be, and is prepared to take the field at the earliest moment and fight to the bitter end in support of her rights. She is confident of success. The first movement of Turkish troops against Greece will be the signal for a revolt in Albania and Macedonia, and Europe, will not look placidly on.

The Greek fleet on Tuesday departed from the Piræus, the Port of Athens, to avoid being blockaded by the British fleet. New regiments are rapidly forming. The Porte has asked the Powers to assist in a prompt settlement of the question. Mr. Gladstone, in reply to an appeal for his support as against the resolution of the Salisbury Ministry, telegraphed to the people of Athens on Tuesday: "Considering the authority attaching to the action of the Powers, both on general grounds and by reason of their intervention in the formation of the Greek kingdom, I earnestly hope Greece will pause before placing herself on this occasion in conflict with their deliberate and united recommendation."

The Italian Minister of Finance has announced that there is a deficit in the current budget of \$10,000,000, which is attributed principally to cholera and the Massowah expedition. The duties on sugar, coffee, and spirits are to be increased.

The *Cologne Gazette* says the Prussian Government has determined to Germanize the Polish provinces, and with this view will purchase estates in those provinces, and parcel the land out to German peasants.

The German-Americans on the island of Foehr, whose expulsion from Germany was recently ordered, have petitioned the Government to allow them to remain until April 1.

A member of the Hungarian Parliament accuses Baron Armin Podmanczyk, a friend of Herr Tisza, of squandering one-third of the Hungarian revenues.

Hippolyte Charamaule, a famous French lawyer and publicist, is dead at the age of ninety. He was prominent in the February Revolution which proclaimed the Republic, and, after the *Coup d'état* of Napoleon III., against which he protested, he retired to private life.

Jean Jacques de Tschudi, the Swiss naturalist and traveller, is dead at the age of sixty-eight. His explorations were principally made in Peru and Brazil.

The Congo Railway syndicate has appointed Mr. Henry M. Stanley manager of the work of laying the line of railway in the Congo country.

Michael Czaykowski, better known as Sadyk Pasha, a general once in the service of Turkey, has committed suicide. His career has been remarkable. He was born in Poland in 1808, and in his youth attained some fame as a poet and novelist. In 1831 he won renown and the title of General by fighting against Russia. Some years later he went to Constantinople to reside. His surrender to the Russian authorities was formally demanded, and to avoid being given up he in 1851 adopted the Moslem religion and assumed the name of Mahommed Sadyk. During the war between Turkey and Russia in 1853-55 he had the rank of Pasha and commanded a corps of the Turkish army. Subsequently he was Military Governor of Bucharest. In 1872 he quitted the Turkish service, and, obtaining permission from the Russian Government to return to his native country, he took up his residence in Kiev.

It is rumored that Zorilla, having failed in his efforts to incite an insurrection in Spain, has returned to London, the French Government having refused him a refuge in French territory.

## SENATOR MORRILL'S SPEECH.

SENATOR MORRILL'S speech on the silver question, in reply to Senator Beck, is a very able presentation of the subject which just now engages the largest share of public attention. It is especially strong in support of the moral considerations which should impel all governments to do what was expected of them at the time when they entered into their financial engagements, instead of studying sharp devices to save sixpences at the expense of shillings in any future emergency calling for the employment of the public credit. Senator Beck's treatment of this branch of the controversy exposed him to a broadside which he has now got. In close connection with this, Mr. Morrill called his attention to the classes of persons who for the most part constitute the hostile army of bondholders, showing that they are not as a rule wealthy persons at all, but the note-holders of national banks, depositors in savings banks, infant heirs of deceased persons whose property is held in trust, wards in chancery, etc., while the millionaires commonly invest their money in things which yield higher rates of interest than 3 or 4 per cent. "This," says Mr. Morrill, "is the true character of those who now hold our bonds, and yet they are covered with defamatory epithets, as though they were culprits worthy of sentence to a dungeon or to a chain-gang." It is worth while for politicians to bear in mind that the number of depositors in savings banks in the State of New York is equal to the number of voters, being about eleven hundred thousand. Let any man ambitious for public honors take his stand in any of our large savings banks about the time when the interest on deposits falls due, and he will get a lively idea of the fate that would befall him if he should be suspected of an intention to cut away some part of the security for the deposits, or to reduce the value of the same 20 per cent.

The demagogue stamp upon Senator Beck's speech was exposed by Mr. Morrill in another way. Mr. Beck had soundly berated the bondholders for pushing up the premium on the bonds to so high a figure—as though they had any interest in having them sell at 124 rather than at par. "He unquestionably knows," says Mr. Morrill, "that it will make no scrap of difference to bankers and bondholders now whether our bonds bear a premium or not. All they expect to realize or can realize from their bonds is the fixed rate of interest and their par value when due, and it makes not a farthing's difference to the Government whether bonds bear a premium or not, unless the Government proposes to use its funds for speculative purposes, and make purchases of them in advance of their maturity."

The immoral practice of "striking down silver" also engaged Mr. Morrill's attention to good purpose. We can do nothing better than quote his paragraph on that subject:

"The fall in the value of silver in the United States has been denounced by some of our advanced silver financiers as though it was a trick of the Wall Street bondholders, and not, like the recent fall in the value of copper, owing entirely to a largely increased supply and a diminished demand. The banks are also denounced as conspirators engaged in this unholy depreciation of one of the precious metals, because their customers whom they serve have not found a use for it; but the imputation is hardly less

preposterous than it would be to charge the banks with the depreciation in the value of copper, because they do not buy and hoard uncalled-for millions of bronze or copper cents. Democratic Treasury officials are held to be no more honest than their predecessors, and it is not for me to claim that they are; but all have been at work from the early morn until the evening twilight in pushing silver at every cross-roads of the country, although esteemed in some quarters as nothing less than traitors because they have not had greater success, as accredited missionaries, in persuading mankind that the silver dollar is worthy of a more obedient faith and greater adoration among the unconverted."

We cannot so highly commend Mr. Morrill's excursion into the tariff dispute, where, however, he was only following Senator Beck. The latter had stated incidentally that American agricultural industries received no consideration in the distribution of favors by the tariff. What he ought to have said was that they *could not* receive such favors, since they are articles of export and not of import. Duties, we must remind both Senators, are levied only on imports. Mr. Morrill, however, takes Mr. Beck literally, and favors him with this astonishing information:

"Tobacco in the leaf is subjected to a high duty; and corn, wheat, pork, bacon, lard, beef, cheese, butter, sugar, leather, oils of all kinds, hemp, flax, and even peanuts are not omitted. If there is a single agricultural product that has been neglected let it be named, and I shall have great pleasure in following the lead of the Senator from Kentucky in giving it a 'protecting arm.' Upon one question, at least, we will go arm in arm. Surely the Senator forgot, when he made his statement, where he was, and supposed he was on the stump in the blue-grass region instead of the United States Senate. Certainly agricultural products have not been neglected."

There is one considerable article not embraced in Mr. Morrill's list of protected agricultural products, which Mr. Beck might adduce by way of putting the Vermont Senator to confusion, and that is cotton. Why were we vouchsafed duties on wheat and corn, and not a scrap of duty on cotton? We import as much of the latter as of the two former. Again, how did it happen that in the microscopic survey of human industry embodied in the Morrill tariff we have a duty of 10 per cent. ad valorem on ants' eggs and no duty at all on hens' eggs? Hens' eggs are imported largely, although cotton is not. Would a revision of the tariff in order to put a duty on hens' eggs and to repeal the duty on ants' eggs be such a revision as the Republican national platform authorizes?

Senator Morrill's speech has a significance which he vainly endeavors to cast away, but it will not be cast away. It is a defence on the Republican side of the chamber of a Democratic Administration against Democratic attack. It is the only defence that the Administration has yet had against the attacks of Beck, Eustis, Vance, Pugh, Reagan, and other Democratic leaders. Mr. Morrill's disclaimer of any intention to interfere in a family quarrel will not count for much against the plain facts. The masses pay no attention to such technicalities; they only look at the picture as a whole. It seems now as though the chief support of the President and the Secretary of the Treasury upon the chief issue in national politics would come from the Republican party. It would be premature to speculate upon the larger consequences of this alliance, but that there will be consequences, running the length and breadth of the republic, no one can doubt.

## WHY NEW MEXICO DOES NOT FLOURISH.

WITH the construction of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fé Railroad through New Mexico, a new era seemed to dawn upon that distant and nearly forgotten land. It was discovered that it possessed great wealth and enjoyed singular advantages, and for a short time people began to flock to it; capital was enticed thither for investment, and a great number of enterprises sprang up in almost every direction. The "boom," however, fell almost as rapidly as it arose. This was largely owing to a lack of resources in our Southwestern region. But if, remembering its beautiful and salubrious climate, we ask ourselves why it is plainly shunned by industrious people of modest pretensions; why it remains to-day a "good country" only for large capital in the hands of a few, for land syndicates and so-called monopolists in stock-raising, the answer must be because a system of land tenure, antedating the American annexation, acts as a deadweight upon it, making its real estate unavailable, nay inaccessible to the small buyer, to the poor renter. The old land grants cover a vast portion of New Mexico, and are, through their immobility, an almost insurmountable obstacle to the growth of the Territory.

These grants, sometimes of enormous extent, were originally vested in a few; but in process of time the descendants of one grantee have come to number twenty or thirty heads of families, living scattered, and, as not infrequently happens, with one or more of them lost to sight, without record. The small purchaser can nearly always acquire the individual interests of a single heir, or of a few even, but then he only owns an "undivided part," and obtains no control of it except in partnership with people whom he oftentimes never becomes acquainted with, and who in any case are foreign to him, in language, in ideas, in mode of life and manner of working. This investment remains dead capital until he can secure the remainder, and what hope has he of obtaining it? Wealth it may eventually become, but can he afford to have it dormant? Assuredly not. There is little inducement for the immigrant with modest means to settle in a country when such impediments are thrown in his way. Only the capitalist can buy out all those interested in the larger grants, and what he thus purchases is seldom, if ever, wanted for parcellation. It is sought for some enterprise on a grand scale that excludes the small settler.

Not only are a considerable number of grants held by many, but such is their legal status that they cannot be bought at present. No grant is regarded as perfect until it has been confirmed by the Congress of the United States. It is, therefore, first submitted to the Surveyor-General of Santa Fé, who examines the claim and then reports upon its merits, for or against, and Congress decides whether to approve or reject it. If approved, a patent deed is issued directly from the Government; if rejected, the claim is regarded as void. These are very lengthy proceedings; they take years, and cost correspondingly. No small settler can afford to sacrifice the time and the money needed for this, and this again throws the real estate of New Mexico into the hands of a few

to the exclusion of the many. It obstructs settlement and renders improvement almost impossible.

Unless a grant has been already confirmed, it is unsafe to buy it or to purchase any portion of it. There is a great variety of these titles, some made by the Spanish Government, some by Mexico. The Spanish grants were usually issued by the former Governors, Mexican grants by Governors or political chiefs. It is held by some that certain officers had no right to convey lands, by others that they had. Many contend that the title was never in fee simple, that nothing was conveyed but the right to use for certain purposes. Again, it is alleged that many grants are void, that the limits have been fraudulently extended, that the same tract has been granted several times over to entirely different parties, that grants overlap each other. Whoever touches an unconfirmed title, buys not only heavy expense and loss of time, but also a fair prospect of litigation with possible squatters and neighbors. To cap the climax, special grants were issued by Spain to the various tribes of sedentary Indians ("Pueblos") occupying fertile tracts throughout New Mexico. These tracts are regarded by the majority of people as desirable, but as equally unpurchasable, being made to a community as a whole and without any right to dispose of them. Others contend that they are transferable under certain conditions and under certain circumstances. At all events, they are at present untouchable.

The maze of difficulties in which the Territories once belonging to Mexico labor, so far as real estate is concerned, in consequence of an obsolete landed system, deserves prompt and earnest attention. Otherwise these Territories can never prosper, because they can never be freely settled. Mining there has its limits, and it is narrowly circumscribed. Agriculture and stock-raising are capable of much greater extension; but then the landholder must feel sure of what he owns, and the immigrant with small means must be able to acquire a home. As it is, only the wealthy buyer, who seldom cares for living out West, unless he is consumptive and goes there in the hope of deferring his death, can secure real estate and keep it. There are, of course, desirable parts of New Mexico which are not covered by grants of any kind, but the most accessible sections are, and these are specially attractive to him who wishes to make his home in the Southwest. It devolves upon Congress to find a remedy for the present hopeless confusion in regard to land titles. There seems to be no obstacle in the way of a prompt disposal of them one way or another. The Territories are suffering from the present state of things; public opinion there points to the old land grants as the cause of ailment, and since Congress has taken upon itself to decide whether they shall be respected or not, it is to Congress the appeal for relief is made with urgency.

#### THE GAS QUESTION IN ENGLAND.

THE relation of our modern municipality to the gas supply is one of the most interesting questions of local government and local finance now before the public. It is what may be called a burning question in this country in

every large city and in many small ones, and although it is perhaps nearer a solution in Europe than with us, it is not by any means finally settled even there. English experience on the subject is the longest and most varied, and cannot but be of great value to us. The English Parliament and English localities have tried nearly all possible experiments in this field, and the conclusion to which they are very rapidly drifting is that the only solution of the problem lies in the ownership and management of gas works by the municipalities. As this is a result quite different from what we might expect from the history of such undertakings in this country, it is well worth our while to examine the course of events which has led to it.

They first tried the experiment of chartering competing gas companies, allowing each to make its own terms with consumers. The earliest acts authorized different companies to supply the same districts throughout the metropolis, and for a time opposition existed between the Chartered, and Imperial, and the City of London Companies, in a portion of their districts. The attention of Parliament was, however, very early called to the evils arising from this competition. Sir William Congreve, who was inspector of gas works, in a report to the House on the matter about 1820, expressed the strongest disapprobation of it, and recommended that no act should be passed without limiting the district of each company. Consequently, in all acts passed for a series of years, each company was limited to a specified district, under a heavy penalty for every light supplied beyond it.

Other companies were, however, formed with statutory powers for supplying the metropolis, and in 1842 the principle of exclusive districts which had been adopted in 1821 was finally abandoned. An act was passed authorizing a comparatively new company to supply districts already lighted by other companies, and, closely following upon this, several other acts were passed upon the same principle. This strengthened the competition which had existed for years in certain parts of the metropolis and initiated an era of the wildest competition. The leading companies laid their mains in all the leading thoroughfares where there was a large consumption, and some of the streets were supplied from six different works through as many mains. The strife for business on the part of the companies became most unscrupulous and ruinous both to the companies and the public. The companies could pay no dividends, the discriminations were enormous and dangerous to soundly-conducted business, while the repeated tearing up of streets interfered to a serious extent with the regular traffic. This sort of thing could not of course continue forever. As a matter of fact, it did not continue quite ten years. In 1853 the companies agreed to quit competing, divided up the territory among them, and established uniform prices for gas throughout their respective territories. The price of gas was raised considerably in order to cover the losses incident to competition, and consumers in London are still paying dividends on capital invested in the useless mains of that period. This combination and the consequent increase of price created such a great excitement that a Parlia-

mentary investigation was ordered. As a result of this inquiry, which was unusually careful and detailed, an act was passed confirming the districting arrangements, securing the companies in their respective districts, and prohibiting all other companies from supplying gas within this territory without special sanction of Parliament—thus recognizing finally and forever that competition was out of place as a regulator of gas prices.

Simultaneously with this process of dividing up the territory, a process of absorption was begun, by which one company after another was swallowed up by the larger ones. In 1853 there were thirteen companies supplying London. This number had dwindled to three in 1883. There are now only two companies, with a strong probability of early consolidation into one.

Even before the gas companies were finally recognized to be practical monopolies, an attempt had been made to regulate the maximum price of gas and its quality, by fixing the former and providing tests for the latter. Various laws were passed looking toward securing an impartial and sufficient service for all consumers. Efforts were also made to limit the exploitation of the public by fixing maximum dividends, and providing for a lowering of the price of gas after the dividends had reached the maximum. In spite of all these experiments, the dissatisfaction of the public continued to increase until the adoption of what is known as the sliding scale, which has done much to remove certain causes of complaint. According to this plan an initial price of gas was fixed, and also a standard dividend. For every reduction of a certain amount in the price, an augmentation in the dividend is allowed, and on an increase in the price the dividend must be correspondingly diminished. Thus the Gas Light and Coke Company of London has for its ordinary stock a standard rate of dividend of 10 per cent., while its standard price for gas is 3s. 9d. per 1,000 cubic feet. On reducing the price 4d. it was allowed 1 per cent. additional dividend. In 1884 it had reduced the price to 3s. and increased the dividend to 12 per cent.

Outside of London the course of development has been somewhat different. Competition broke down there as in the city, but they were not content with trying to regulate the companies. The municipalities began to establish their own works. No objection was raised to this in those places where no private companies had been established, but when the municipalities, despairing of regulating the companies successfully and unable to purchase their works because of the outrageous price asked for them, began to erect competing works, the private companies succeeded in getting an act of Parliament, in 1872, prohibiting municipalities from erecting works where private companies were already established. This handed over the communities, bound hand and foot, to the tender mercies of the gas companies, since they could only get hold of their works on "terms agreed," which meant on the terms demanded by the companies. These terms have been in most cases extravagantly high. The companies have put in all manner of claims—for maximum dividends on capital from the beginning of their organi-

zation, for the hopes of future profits based on the experience of the most successful companies in England, etc. In spite of all this the evils of private management are considered so unbearable that city after city is purchasing the existing works, and it is stated on good authority that one of the first steps of the re-organized City of London will probably be the acquisition of the gas works of the present companies.

According to the report of gas undertakings in the United Kingdom, made to Parliament in 1884, there were at that time on the islands more than 160 towns and cities which owned and managed their own works, and the number is increasing every day. Now, what has been the result of public management?

According to Mr. Arthur Silverthorne, a prominent English expert who has given much attention to this subject, "the event has proved that nothing could be more felicitous than the way in which the municipal authorities have managed even the largest gas undertakings confided to their care, and I fearlessly assert that these unpaid bodies have achieved far superior results to those obtained under the directorate of private companies." In spite of the high price paid for the gas works of private companies, varying from 150 to 400 per cent., and averaging about 250 per cent. of face value of stock and from four to ten times the value of the plant, they have nearly uniformly succeeded (1) in paying interest on debt contracted to purchase the works, (2) in lowering the price of gas to consumers, and (3) in handing over a handsome surplus to the City Treasury. There are several reasons why this should be perfectly possible, and the statistics leave no doubt of its being actual.

The city of Birmingham, under the lead of the irrepressible Mr. Chamberlain, purchased its works in 1875, which were earning at the time of purchase only £82,290 per year. By lowering the price, thus largely increasing the consumption, and introducing improved machinery and processes, the city increased the earnings by 1879, within four years, to £165,000, *i. e.*, it earned 35 per cent. dividend instead of 17 per cent. The striking results of such public management were made the basis of increased demand on the part of other private companies whose works were desired by the municipality.

The city of Nottingham acquired the gas works in 1875, when the price was at 3s. 4d., and reduced the price within ten years to 2s. 2d., with the following result in amount consumed and profit realized:

| Year. | Price per 1,000 c. f. | Amt. consumed in millions. | Profit. |
|-------|-----------------------|----------------------------|---------|
| 1877  | 2s. 10d.              | 662                        | £5,783  |
| 1878  | 2s. 8d.               | 723                        | 12,525  |
| 1880  | 2s. 6d.               | 891                        | 23,000  |
| 1882  | 2s. 4d.               | 1,040                      | 27,615  |
| 1884  | 2s. 2d.               | 1,163                      | 33,169  |

The city of Leeds has a still more striking record. The authorities have managed the undertaking so well that they were asked recently to reduce the price to 1 shilling per 1,000 cubic feet.

Germany seems to be seeking the solution of the same problem in the same direction. In 1860 there were in Germany 266 gas works, of which 66 belonged to the municipalities and 200 to private companies. In 1883 there were 600 establishments, of which 290 were public and 310 were

private, the ratio changing in twenty-five years from 25 per cent. to nearly 50 per cent. in favor of public undertakings. Even now, of the 164 leading cities 88 own and manage their own works, and if we take Germany as a whole, the public works are far more important than the private works. The capitalized value of city undertakings is nearly double that of private works, being \$143,000,000 to \$78,000,000. The inhabitants of cities supplied with public works amount to 7,000,000 as opposed to 4,500,000 in those supplied by private companies. The public works consume more than 65 per cent. of the coal used in the manufacture of gas.

It would be eminently worth while for some of our experts to make a thorough examination of this whole subject, both in this country and Europe. It would be very desirable to know exactly how these public works are managed, and the secret of their undoubted and increasing success. They seem destined, in Europe at least, to supplant entirely the private undertaking.

#### THE OLD IRISH REMEDY.

THE report that after much debate and cogitation the only measure the Tory Cabinet can agree on for the solution of the Irish difficulty is a new coercion bill, derives much probability from the history of all previous legislation in London on the same subject. In fact, the readiness of the English mind, after tormenting itself for a while over remedial measures for Ireland, to put them aside and fall back on simple force has been almost comically persistent.

On this point the recently published volume of Mr. Barry O'Brien's 'Fifty Years of Concessions to Ireland' (London: Sampson Low & Co.) is most instructive. The war between the tenants and the landlords, which slumbered for a few years after the Union, broke out with renewed atrocity in 1807. Murder, arson, mayhem, and resistance to the police, all caused by the land question, raged all over the country during the following forty years. During this period a swarm of observers, English and foreign, visited Ireland and wrote on this question. A Government Commission, too, of which the Earl of Devon was chairman, investigated and reported on it. All told the same tale. All said that the root of the Irish trouble was the dependence of the Irish tenant on the landlord's discretion, and the barbarous indifference of the landlord to his condition; and his readiness to confiscate the tenant's improvements. Nevertheless, during the whole of that period—from 1807 (and in 1807 the evil was already a century old) to 1847, not one legislative attempt was made to remedy it, but plenty of time was found to pass coercion bills. In 1800-1 there was an Insurrection Act, and a Suspension of the Habeas Corpus. In 1803-4 these measures were continued. In 1807-8-9 there were an Insurrection Act and Martial Law. In 1814-15-16-17 there was an Insurrection Act and Martial Law. In 1822-3-4 there was an Insurrection Act. In 1825-6-7-8-9 there was an Act for the suppression of the Catholic Association, which was carrying on the agitation for the emancipation of the Catholics. In 1831-2 there was an Act prohibiting the possession of arms, called out by the desperate resistance of

the peasantry to the collection of tithes for the Protestant clergy. In 1833-4 there was a Coercion Act, which was continued into 1835.

Between 1829 and 1835 the English mind was at last sufficiently moved by Irish turbulence to emancipate the Catholics, and stop the levying of Protestant tithes, but neither violence nor agitation could induce it to touch the land question, until in 1849 the Encumbered Estates Bill was passed, providing an easy process for the sale of the estates of bankrupt landlords, and enabling them to give "a parliamentary title" to the purchasers. But for the tenants nothing was done.

In the meantime, however, there had been plenty of coercion. In 1843-4-5 the possession of arms was prohibited. In 1847 there was a Crime and Outrage Act. In 1848-9 there was a Habeas Corpus Suspension Act, a Crime and Outrage Act, and a Removal of Aliens Act. From 1850 to 1855 there was a Crime and Outrage Continuance Act. In 1856-7 there was a Peace Preservation Act. From 1858 to 1863 there was a Peace Preservation Continuance Act. In 1865 there was also a Peace Preservation Continuance Act. From 1866 to 1869 there was a Habeas Corpus Suspension Act. In 1870-1 there was a Peace Preservation Act. From 1873 to 1880 there were a Peace Preservation Act and a Protection of Life and Property Act. In 1881-2 there was Forster's Coercion Act, and in 1883-5 there has been the Crimes Act.

During this period there was a Land Act, passed in 1860, which, as it simply allowed the tenant to be paid for his improvements if he made them with the landlord's consent, proved a total failure. In 1866 the Whigs made an attempt to give the tenant property in improvements which the landlord had not forbidden. In 1867 the Tories proposed to go further than this, and create a Commissioner of Improvements who should decide what improvements the tenant might make without the landlord's consent. But neither proposal came to anything, and the war went on. In 1869 Gladstone at last disestablished the Church, and in 1870 passed the first real remedial land act—"the best measure, perhaps the only good measure," Froude said, "which has been passed for Ireland in 200 years." But, like all other Irish remedial measures, it did not go far enough, for it left it in the power of the tenants to contract themselves out of the purview of the Act—that is, to agree in writing not to avail themselves of its provisions, and therefore, as the *British Quarterly Review* said in 1880, "Some landlords set themselves deliberately to defeat its provisions; . . . others required their tenants to sign leases deliberately drawn to defeat its provisions." So it also proved nugatory. Consequently the Land Act of 1881 was the first really effective attempt to settle the land question, but it, also, came too late.

We thus see that while English opinion in eighty years was able to consider and pass twenty-four coercion acts, it was only able to settle on four remedial acts—the Catholic Emancipation Act, the Tithes Commutation Act, the Church Disestablishment Act, and the Land Act of 1881; and the first three of these really simply provided for the cessation of gross oppression. In truth the whole story

of the government of Ireland by the Imperial Parliament since 1800, as told by Mr. O'Brien—with great calm, let us add, and profuse citation of authorities—is so absurd that it may fairly be called “light reading,” and, in spite of the bulk of the volume, may be taken up by the fireside, in the evening, for pure entertainment. If the Tories should now, after profound reflection on the home-rule problem, bring in simply a good rattling coercion bill, it would cap the climax, or in other words give the finishing touch to a sorry farce.

#### THE FRENCH JEFFERSONIANS.

THE French fill their civil service by non-competitive examination, but the places are practically held during good behavior, so that the spoils system, as we know it, has never grown up, vacancies being rare. Since the establishment of the Republic and the seizure of all power by the Chambers, however, office-seeking, in the absence of the competitive system, has become a veritable nuisance. During the existence of the “scrutin d'arrondissement,” as it was called, when each electoral district had one member, the voters got into the way of looking on him, as many voters look on members of Congress here, as merely an agent for getting places or favors for them from the Government, and in France the number of places and favors the Government has to bestow is enormous.

Under the operation of this system, it was becoming rapidly impossible for any Ministry to keep in power except by an elaborate and extensive system of bribery. The individual member, in order to retain his seat, had to get tobacco licenses, furloughs, transfers, places, and decorations for his constituents, and the Cabinet had to give them, or rather promise them, in order to secure his vote. It was under the pressure of this terrible burden that Jules Ferry tried to justify the Tonquin and similar colonizing schemes, by pointing out the opening it would offer for the young Frenchmen who now pester the Government for small offices. One of the strongest arguments in favor of the “scrutin de liste,” or departmental ballot, by which all the deputies of the Department are elected on a general ticket, was that, no one member representing any particular district, no particular set of voters would have a special claim on him, and the whole body would thus be delivered from the office-seekers. But the traditions of French politics have proved too strong even for the scrutin de liste. Frenchmen cannot unlearn in a year or two the lesson which two centuries of highly centralized government have taught them—that everybody connected with the ruling power has unlimited influence. M. Clovis Hugues, the well-known Radical Deputy, sends to the *Lanterne*, as an explanation to his constituents, the following extraordinary account—after making allowance for all exaggerations—of the present state of affairs. He says:

“Every day, each deputy receives on the average twenty letters asking for personal services in no way connected with the pending questions of politics. In all these letters there is an abounding confidence in the fortunate member. He has only to make the smallest sign with the ends of his fingers to realize the dreams of his correspondent. With a word subscribed to the application, he can distribute tobacco licenses, obtain pardons,

dispense charity, bring home emigrants, reverse or modify judicial decisions, get furloughs for soldiers and decorations for buttonholes, procure the dismissal of functionaries, find wet nurses and lost umbrellas, get ministerial decisions changed, appease creditors, negotiate marriages, settle divorces, mollify mothers-in-law, hush up scandals, pull candidates through examinations, appoint prefects, sub-prefects, vice-consuls, Republican bishops, and clerks in Government offices, in banking houses, in the offices of great corporations, and even in those of private individuals—and all this in a single day.”

He goes on to say that every deputy has always about fifty applications for office on foot either in the post or the telegraph office. He sends to the Minister of War every month about thirty applications for furloughs, changes of regiment, or discharge. To the Minister of Finance he sends every quarter about sixty applications for tobacco licenses. Every January and July he recommends about fifteen unknown persons for the Legion of Honor. M. Hugues's own correspondence amounts, he says, to 500 letters per month on the average, and he answers every letter, promising to support the request, whatever it may be, but of course he does not do it. How can he? “How could he,” M. Hugues asks, “and give any attention to the affairs of the country. In the morning, when he might be studying the questions of the day, he would be growing mouldy in the ante-chambers of the appointing officers. In the Chamber during the session he would be writing letters, or paying with a vote against his conscience for the services the Minister was to render him.”

For the habit of asking general favors of the Government there is, of course, no cure but the improvement in the political education of the French people, which time and the practice of parliamentary government will bring about. But the office-begging nuisance can never be abated by anything but the competitive system, which the French will eventually have to adopt. No pass examination will suffice, because this still leaves the appointing officer an enormous discretion. The competitive system, on the other hand, delivers him from importunity, by giving a small number of the ablest competitors an exclusive claim to the place, and thus furnishes both Minister and Deputy with the only sure defence against this great curse and weakness of modern democratic government—the desire of the incompetent, the lazy, the vicious, and the unsuccessful, to quarter themselves on the public treasury.

#### CAN THE ENGLISH CONSTITUTION BE AMERICANIZED?

OXFORD, January 1, 1886.

To Conservative thinkers who have accepted the advent of the democracy in England, the institutions of the United States present (as I pointed out in my last letter) three points of attraction—the independence of the President, the authority of the Senate, the immutability of the Constitution. Whether these characteristics of American republicanism can by any imitation or adaptation of transatlantic morals be impressed upon the democratic Constitution of Great Britain, is already an inquiry of more than academic interest. It may any day become a question of pressing moment. My aim in this letter is to examine how far, in the three matters which I have mentioned, the Constitution of the United States in reality excels the English State-system (to use an expression of Mr. Frederic Har-

ison's), and how far the provisions of your Constitution present a model for imitation by English statesmen.

There is assuredly something striking in the contrast between the position of a President such as President Cleveland and the situation of a Premier such as Mr. Gladstone. It will, I suppose, be admitted on all hands that Mr. Cleveland does not possess anything like the amount of power wielded by Mr. Gladstone when in office, or for that matter when out of it. No declaration of policy by the President would, I presume, have anything like the effect on the public life of America which has been produced by the mere rumor of Mr. Gladstone's adherence to home rule; or which would result from an announcement that Lord Salisbury had determined at all costs to resist every demand for anything like the legislative independence of Ireland. But if the extent and area of the President's authority are much narrower than the sphere of a Premier's influence, such powers as an American President possesses can be exercised with an independence unknown to the most powerful of English Ministers. Whether administrative reforms shall be really carried out, whether public offices shall or shall not be treated as spoils belonging to the victors in a party contest, appears, to an Englishman at least, to depend at the present moment wholly on the will of President Cleveland. Grant that his policy may seriously affect, one way or another, his chance of reelection, still, during his four years' term, his conduct is controlled pretty nearly by his own judgment and conscience. No vote of Congress can remove him from power. The dissatisfaction of his own supporters may doubtless be unpleasant, but it can hardly restrain his action. A Prime Minister, on the other hand, is, even at the height of his power, liable to be overthrown by any change of feeling among his supporters. No statesman ever looked more powerful than Lord Palmerston after the elections of 1857, yet two years did not pass before a Palmerstonian House of Commons dismissed him from office, and dismissed him for insisting, with perfect justice, that attempts to assassinate a foreign potentate must be treated in England as crimes. Contrast Palmerston's inability to carry through, in the face of temporary unpopularity, an enactment passed a year or two later without opposition or comment, with the ease with which Lincoln surrendered Slidell and Mason to England, and you have the measure of the difference between a President's independence of momentary popular sentiment and the absolute dependence of even a powerful minister on the public favor.

A Prime Minister is, in short, a party leader. A President is a ruler appointed by the nation. The one has too much influence and possesses too little independence. The other holds very limited powers, but, for the exercise of his authority, he is responsible only to his conscience and his country. To thinkers who believe that the weak point of democratic government is instability of purpose, there is something very fascinating in the notion of substituting a President for a Premier. The change promises two advantages. The country will, it is hoped, be freed from dependence on the sudden resolutions or still more sudden irresolutions of great party leaders. The real head of the executive will at the same time be delivered from the necessity of studying each momentary change of public feeling. Still, a moment's consideration shows that whatever American institutions may be transplanted to England, the Presidency is not one of them. His independence would of itself be absolutely fatal to the working of the Government. Opposition between the House of Commons and the Executive would produce temporary paralysis of the

State, and the English Empire would hardly survive even a slight fit of political paralysis. The President, again, is, as has been pointed out by Bagehot and Maine, a sort of historical survival. He is a reproduction of an English King such as was an English King in the time of George III. The Presidency is inconsistent with the monarchy, and, at the present moment, the last institution which the majority of Englishmen are prepared to abolish is the Crown. If the Executive is to be placed to any extent above the reach of party, the result can in England be attained, if at all, only by some increase in the royal power. Whether this method of freeing the nation from the evils, such as they are, of party government be practicable, is, to say the least, most uncertain. But it would do less violence to English habits than to attempt to imitate Presidential government. Moreover, the Presidency does not appear, to any student of American history, to be the strong point of your Constitutionalism. The office has, in more ways than one, frustrated the expectations of its creators. It is curious that at the very moment when English thinkers are dwelling on the evils of the connection between the Executive and party, American theorists note with dissatisfaction the disconnection between the President and the Legislature.

To an English observer, if the Presidency seems the least satisfactory, the Senate certainly appears the most original and the most successful among the creations of American statesmanship. The Senate and the House of Lords are the only existing bodies which perform with any effect the functions attributed by theorists to a second chamber; and no competent judge can doubt that the Senate is in efficiency and authority far superior to the existing House of Peers. The American second chamber lacks, it is true, the dignity of age and the augustness conferred by historical prestige; but though it has not existed for a century, the Senate is based on a far firmer foundation than the House of Lords, and it is not rash to anticipate that the constitution of the American second chamber may remain unchanged long after our upper house has been either abolished or so modified as to lose its identity. The reason of this difference is palpable to every one. The Senate is in reality, if not the most powerful, certainly one of the most powerful, of the members of the American Constitution. It contains within its body the ablest statesmen of the country; it combines executive with legislative functions, and exercises a constant and (unless I am mistaken) an increasing influence on the course of public affairs. It is in reality superior to the House of Representatives both in dignity and in authority. All this is of course well known to your readers. I dwell upon it in order to bring out the contrast between the American and the English second chamber. The House of Lords contains within it many eminent men, but of these eminent persons some, like many of the law lords, or like officers ennobled for success in war, are not expected to play a leading part in politics. The statesmen, such as Lord Salisbury, Lord Derby, or the Duke of Argyll, who add distinction to the peerage, are involuntary exiles from the House of Commons, which is their natural sphere of action. It is absolutely certain that any one of these three peers would, if the course were open to him, stand for a seat in the House of Commons and be at once elected. The House of Peers is the tomb of statesmen, and Mr. Gladstone's elevation to an earldom would be welcomed by his opponents as equivalent to political death. The members of the House who themselves gain from being part of it are a dead loss to the House itself. No statesman, speaking generally, wishes to be a peer whom any admirer of

the peerage would wish to have a seat in the House of Lords.

This house, again, is, from one cause or another, becoming more and more detached from connection with the really important questions of the day. Of administrative authority it has none. Its legislative weight is far less than any one would expect it to be who ran through the list of eminent lawyers who now as at all times add lustre to the peerage. Our upper house suffers from two all but irremediable defects. It is based on the hereditary principle, and the idea that the discharge of serious public functions should depend upon birth is out of harmony with the spirit of the time. It has, during the last hundred years, become what it certainly at one time was not—the representative not of the nation nor even of a class, but of a party. Since 1784 the majority of the House of Lords has invariably belonged to the Tory or Conservative party of the day. The House of Commons represents the electors; the Crown in a sense represents the unity of the State; the upper house, as things now stand, represents neither the nation nor the empire, but the will of the Tory leaders. No doubt this condition of affairs does not in England produce all the evil that might be anticipated from it. Party rarely leads statesmen to forget all the claims of common sense and of patriotism; but the Conservatism of the House fatally weakens its influence. The Peers are uncertain whether they represent the nation or not, and hence dare not resist any measure which even appears to command popular support. A strange result follows. The House can and does delay reform, but it never resists for a moment anything which appears like revolution. The body which is intended to preserve the Constitution, stimulates that kind of systematic agitation which is most dangerous to the political stability of our institutions. It has been compared often enough to a drag, but it is a drag which is kept on while the coach is going up hill, and is of necessity taken off when the horses threaten to rush down hill.

To Englishmen who note the prestige and the defects of the House of Lords, the idea naturally occurs that the dignity of its associations may be retained and its political defects removed by turning it into a body like the Senate. The difficulties in the way of such a transformation are, however, immense. The members of the House of Lords are between five and six times as numerous as those of the Senate. The House has no connection with the Executive Government. It might, perhaps, by the adoption of Lord Palmerston's proposal, have been insensibly changed into a body of officials holding peerages for life; but such an assembly, whatever its merits, bears no resemblance to the Senate. The essential obstacle, however, to any Americanization, so to speak, of the peerage, lies in the very nature of things. The strength of the Senate consists in its representing the rights of the States. In the United Kingdom there are no States or anything corresponding to States for the upper house to represent. If, indeed, the British Empire should at any time develop into an imperial confederacy, the House of Lords might conceivably be the name of a body analogous to the American Senate. If the United Kingdom were to be split up into a Federation consisting of three or four States, the House of Lords might again possibly become to some degree the representative of the members of the Federation. But such revolutions as these would, it is more likely, involve the fall of the peerage. In any case, the question now to be considered is, not how far the upper house might form the Senate of a Federal State, but how far—the United Kingdom, being what it is—the House might be reformed so as in some degree to reproduce the features of the American Senate. It were

rash to say of such a reform that it is an impossibility; it is safe to assert that nothing at the present moment seems less probable than that it should be even attempted.

Is it, lastly, possible to give to the fundamental laws of the British Constitution the kind of immutability possessed by the articles of the American Constitution? Attention to the current of opinion shows that some thinkers are prepared to answer this question in the affirmative. In favor of such a reply, take the obvious consideration that the mutability or flexibility of our Constitution is an attribute hardly to be found in the State system of any great country except England. It is natural enough to infer that if the Americans, the Swiss, and the French have all founded constitutions of a more or less rigid character, there is no insuperable reason why Englishmen should not confer upon their time-honored Constitution the quality of immutability; nor can any one who notes either the tendencies of democratic government or the special difficulties which England is required to meet at the present day, deny that much would be gained if the fundamental laws of the State could be placed for a time—in theory, at least—beyond the reach of discussion.

It would take far more than the space at my disposal, toward the end of an already long letter, to discuss the possibility of the proposed revolution. Three observations, however, are worth making, and should be borne in mind throughout the whole of a discussion which has only just begun to interest the public, and may well be destined to last for years. The proposed alteration is, in the first place, essentially a revolution: if adopted, it will change from top to bottom the whole character of the British Constitution. It cuts far deeper, so to speak, into the body of the Constitution than would the transition from a monarchy to a republic. The rigidity of the Constitution means the destruction of that kind of pliancy which has hitherto been the strength of the English State. It is impossible, in the second place, to give to any laws the fixity possessed by the articles of the American Constitution, without also conferring on the courts the powers possessed by the judiciary of the United States. To do this is to give to the judges an authority never yet possessed by any English tribunal. It is, lastly, a mistake to consider that anything like universal experience tells in favor of rigid or inflexible constitutions. The experience of the United States points in one direction, the experience of Continental Europe points in another. The Constitution of the American republic has been changeable, and has therefore not been changed. French constitutions have in general been immutable, and therefore have lasted on an average about six and a half years. The stability, moreover, which thinkers desire to confer upon the Constitution of England is given to the fundamental laws of the Swiss Federation by methods differing considerably from those adopted by the founders of the Union for giving permanence to its Constitution; and it is at least open to argument that in this matter English innovators or reformers may learn more from the Swiss Confederation than from the American republic.

A. V. DICEY.

#### A MÆDLÆVAL CUSTOM-HOUSE.

ITALY, January 5, 1886.

An incident from the Middle Ages may not be uninteresting to the readers of the *Nation*.

On buying tickets from Geneva to Genoa, I was advised to register luggage to the end, and was told that it would be in waiting on our arrival at the Italian frontier. At the northern end of the Mount Cenis Tunnel our basket-trunk and valise, which were all that we took for a

short stay in Italy, should have been opened, but I was told that they had been sent forward for examination at Turin. We got to Turin in the evening in a snow storm, and saw several travellers undergoing examination. As there were not enough passengers to go round, they fared badly—three or four officials working one poor traveller. An East Indian gentleman had his wardrobe much tossed about, and gave the officials some amusement by his vehement protestations in bad English: "No smuggly! No smuggly! Italians! Ugh!" The porter who took me in charge, after some searching, informed me that my luggage had gone forward to Genoa. The next day, which was Christmas, we reached Genoa, and, after much bother about it at the station, I was told that the luggage had not yet come, and that it had no doubt been sent to the "Coast-house." If I would only come back the next day or the day after! Everybody was polite; there was no irritation; there was no hurry; nobody was surprised; it was taken quite as a matter of course that baggage should be detained, and that travellers should wait for it. Would it certainly come? "O! it's got to," answered a hotel porter who stood by and kindly interested himself in my affair.

That night I rested at Nervi, where no snow storm ever comes, and spent the morning wandering in the very perpendicular garden of our villa, the walks of which are mostly stairways in the cliffs running down hundreds of feet to the edge of the sea, with halting places in thatched summer-houses at almost every angle of the paths or stairs. In the garden grow aloes, palms, and palmettoes, as well as pines; orange and lemon trees are here loaded with ripening fruit, and in one of the summer-houses near the water I sat and listened to the ludicrous stories of a party of friends whose baggage had also been involved in the costly meshes of Italian red-tape. Reluctantly leaving our sunny garden at eleven o'clock, I started into Genoa; and after some unavailing search for the American Consul, who had "changed house," as I was told, I gave over the notion of asking advice, and made my way from the Via Roma to the water through those narrow gorges between high buildings that seem so little like streets. Arrived at the *Porte della Mercanzia*, I was directed to the *Dogana*. On making inquiry of some uniformed porters, I was put into the charge of a man whom they called (as it sounded to my ears) "Mary Ann"; probably they would spell it Merian. He was an old man, and had perhaps been long in the Custom-house. No doubt he had once been able to walk like a man; he might even once have been a boy, and played at the sprightly Genoese game of bowls that one sees so often; but year by year all notion of vigor in motion had disappeared from his mind, and Mary Ann had now what might be called the custom-house gait developed in ideal perfection. With a delicious languor, he led me a leisurely ramble through a wilderness of heaped-up merchandise, along one warehouse and across into another, much as Virgil's ghost, having all eternity before him, may have conducted a brother-poet through the land of shades. At length my guide paused at the foot of a stairway, up which he had evidently no notion of climbing: it was not the way of a customs porter. He told me to mount to the top and then go to the other end of the building, where I should find a door. As I went up the stairs, whose steps were deeply worn, I saw my guide placidly wending his way back through the labyrinth toward the place whence he came, intent only on consuming as peacefully as possible the hours until closing time, and I wondered whether even some *centesimi* could have quickened his pace.

I reached at last the mysterious door, which was locked, and I knocked in vain. There were

several men in this upper story engaged in slowly taking merchandise out of boxes and spreading it over the floor as though they might have some intention of counting the parcels to-morrow. Addressing myself to one of these, he sent me to another, who explained to me in tolerable French that railway baggage was never sent to this place, but to the other custom-house at the *Porto Salomi*, half a mile away. When I reached this other custom-house I saw a pile of luggage, newly received, by the side of which lay my large valise, tied up with custom-house cord and sealed with a lead seal. The trunk, which should have accompanied it, was nowhere in sight. There was a watchman in charge of this heap of goods, sleeping peacefully on one of the boxes. I was obliged to disturb him in trying to find my trunk.

Distrusting my knowledge of spoken Italian, I inquired for some one who could speak French, and was sent up stairs. Here a lad of fifteen years offered to take charge of my case, but I insisted on finding some one capable of speaking French, and the lad brought me another *expéditeur*, as he called himself in French, a custom-house attaché and a commissionaire in one. This man was the only person I saw about the place capable of despatch. He took my luggage ticket and immediately conjectured that my wicker trunk was in a large willow receptacle lying locked near the valise. To verify his hypothesis he tried hard to peep through the cracks of this great basket, for it seemed that there was no man high or low who had authority to unlock it at the present stage of the game. The formalities must be observed, and the *spedizioniere* told me there were "*beaucoup de formalités*." Acting on the presumption that the rest of my luggage was in the great wicker case, he hurried off with me to the railway station, calling my attention as an American to the statue of Christopher Columbus, whose vigorous soul must also have known the vexations of a Genoese custom-house. Arrived at the station, we waited half an hour for those who were ahead of us at the window on similar business, but the *spedizioniere* at length recognized a friend within and so got himself admitted behind the window, and, after paying four francs and a fraction for a beginning, got my little yellow paper changed for a blue paper and a white one and a red one. The red one he kept himself, the other two he gave to me.

We now went back to the custom-house, where he informed me we must wait "a moment": other freight had the start. Moments grew to minutes, and nearly an hour passed before my valise was brought in by the porters, who all walked like Mary Ann, as though their legs were moved, without volition, by slow-going clock-work not to be accelerated in the least degree without a probable dislocation of the machine. I saw my *spedizioniere* pay small fees now and then in the vain hope of getting things along; I even saw the young rascal who had brought this particular man to me exact money from him, apparently as pay for the introduction to a client. But at length the long agony seemed nearly over. It had taken about an hour to handle half-a-dozen packages, and the big wicker was brought in last and duly weighed, and then, after a pause, unlocked. My trunk was not there! The *spedizioniere* made a wry face, asked me to remain where I was, and darted away again to the railway station half a mile off. I sat down on a bench with the porters, and watched the lagging movements of the officials. After awhile there entered a chief of some sort, who had probably been three hours at dinner, and who now flew around with a kind of purposeless energy. Seeing me there waiting, he began to scold in resonant Italian. The Italian is a beautiful language for scolding, the open vowels ring so long and

exasperatingly. The case was explained to this man and he subsided. Thinking I might expedite a little on my own account, I arose and told him my predicament, and the importance of my getting through in time for a late afternoon train. I begged that my papers might be made out and my valise examined before the arrival of the trunk. He shook his head. The *expéditeur* had the red paper. I showed him the blue paper and the white paper, but nothing could be done without the all-important red paper. So I sat me down upon my bench again.

The hour of closing was drawing near. One of the porters asked me the time of day—there was no clock; another got out a leathern bag from which he began to take iron keys, in pleasing anticipation of the hour when no imaginary duties should detain him from the *caffè*. I knew that closing was the one thing about which these men were punctual, but I inwardly resolved that I would not leave without my luggage. At length the *spedizioniere* plunged "into our midst," and dashed impetuously up the long stairs, crying to me like a madman, "*Enfin! enfin!*" and the porters gently nodded to me in placid congratulation. Five minutes later my trunk was wheeled in. With what knotty formalities the poor *spedizioniere* was wrestling above stairs I know not, but it was a quarter of an hour before he appeared again, when he came flying down stairs with two large papers in each hand. These he thrust under the nose of a man who sat at a rough desk by a side door. The man wrote something on them, and the *spedizioniere* rushed wildly up the long stairway again. This time he was gone twenty long minutes, during which the porter put keys in the doors and tried the locks, and the entire force sat down to wait for the fulfilment of the solemn rites necessary to release my two pieces of luggage from durance. At length the *spedizioniere* came down nodding to me in triumph. The chief came too. The clerks and porters gathered about in a pleased group. The valise was put in a large hay-scale and weighed and then set aside. The trunk was also weighed and set aside. Then the *spedizioniere* borrowed a jack-knife from a porter, and cut the rope that enclosed my valise, and handed it with the lead seal to another man. I unlocked both pieces, and the actual examination did not take two minutes. It had taken the whole afternoon, however, to get to it, and half-a-dozen men had waited an hour, impotently entangled in their own formalities: One of the employees now dipped a brush in some indescribable paste or glue, and smeared a paper ticket with it, and slowly stuck it on my valise. This ticket was numbered, another number was stuck to my trunk, and then both pieces were mounted on a hand-truck. A porter wheeled this slowly down the length of the custom-house to the front. The *spedizioniere* followed him. I followed the expeditor. At the door a man took off the numbered papers and threw them away. The last ceremony was now concluded, and my luggage was free; the relieved officials were already locking the great doors.

It remained to settle the bill. There was no duty on anything in my trunk or valise, only petty fees. There was a custom-house fee charged at the frontier, for not doing anything, I suppose. There was a charge also at the frontier for portage, another for tying up my valise, another for the rope itself, and one for the lead seal on the rope. Then there were charges for the bills which specified the charges. There were eighty *centesimi* for *commissione*, whatever that may mean. There was two cents for a stamp, and then a parallel set of charges for what had been done at the coast-house. Last of all, there were four francs to pay for *spedizione*. If this word be taken to mean speed, the charge

was too high; if it stands for the work done by the *spedizioniere*, it was dog-cheap.

It only remains to add that Genoa is the chief port of Italy. E. E.

## Correspondence.

### GEORGE BORROW'S WORKS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Perhaps you will kindly permit me to interview your public so far as to ask them, or some one curious in these matters, whether any of the works of the late George Borrow not included in the subjoined list are known. Allibone's meagre mention of Borrow gives an 'Autobiography' under date of 1851, which, however, can only be the 'Lavengro' of that year and not a separate book. The 'Celebrated Trials from 1400 to 1825' were in part compiled by Borrow, and published at London in 6 vols., 8vo, in the latter year, I believe. Lowndes does not speak in high terms of them, doubtless because he knew not the charitable influence of Taggart's snuff-box. At the end of the second volume of 'Romany Rye' (2d ed., London, 1858), there are announced a number of titles of inedited works by Borrow, some of which have appeared under the ægis of "Glorious John," and others have not as yet been printed. These are: 'Celtic Bards,' 2 vols.; 'Songs of Europe,' 2 vols.; 'Kœmpe Viser' (Danish Ballads), 2 vols.; 'Penquite and Pentyre,' 2 vols.; 'Russian Popular Tales,' 1 vol.; 'Northern Skalds,' 2 vols. (unfinished); 'Death of Balder'; 'Bayr Jairgey and Glion Doo.' The published volumes that I possess are the following:

1. Romantic Ballads. Norwich, 1826. 8vo.
2. Targum. (Poet. transl. from thirty languages.) St. Petersburg, 1835. 8vo.
3. The Talisman (from Pushkin). St. Petersburg, 1835. 8vo.
4. El Nuevo Testamento (Scio's version). Madrid, 1837. 8vo.
5. Gypsy Version of St. Luke. Madrid, 1837. 12mo.
6. Basque Version of St. Luke. Madrid, 1838. 12mo.
7. Gypsies of Spain. London, 1841. 2 vols., 8vo.
8. Bible in Spain. London, 1842. 3 vols., 8vo.
9. Lavengro. London, 1851. 3 vols., 8vo.
10. Romany Rye. London, 1857. 2 vols., 8vo.
11. The Sleeping Bard. London, 1860. 8vo.
12. Wild Wiles. London, 1862. 3 vols., 8vo.
13. Romano Lavo-Lil (Gypsy Dict.). London, 1874. 8vo.
14. The Turkish Jester. Ipswich, 1884. 8vo. (Posthumous.)

I should be glad of any note or information that would complete this collection as far as possible. W. I. KNAPP.

YALE COLLEGE, January 19, 1886.

### THE BOYCOTTING OF POSTMASTERS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Your editorial on the boycotting of fourth-class postmasters seems to recognize no possible motive but the desire to gratify "a petty political spite."

I know a little village with only one public store or office, and that the only suitable place for the post-office. I am told that all the Republicans and a majority of the Democrats opposed a change. But a Democrat wanted the office, and had to have it. He is shiftless, addicted to the use of liquor, and generally considered dishonest.

I know another village—one that has grown up around a college. The college is unanimously Republican, the precinct heavily so, and the

college makes the work of the post-office. There is a man in the village who was a rebel during the war, was captured, took the oath not to bear arms against the Government, and then reenlisted in the Confederate service. His business at present is illicit whiskey vending. He neither fears God nor regards man. He is openly accused, by those who know his past, of arson and robbery, and is suspected of other crimes; and I doubt if his best friend would not consider it flattery to call him dishonest. A change is daily expected which will practically make that man postmaster. Every Republican and almost every Democrat will oppose it. But what is to be done when every Democrat becomes a would-be P. M., and the Democratic M. C. determines to make a "clean sweep," and the present incumbent is an "offensive partisan"? Clearly, civil-service reform demands a change.

These are extreme cases, but your article admits that boycotting has been generally introduced where the will of the majority of the people has been disregarded. But when a Democratic Congressman determines to reward his faithful rural friend by securing for him the cross-roads post-office, and the powers that be are deaf to the voice of the people, and grossly incompetent and unworthy men, are placed in offices in which every citizen is interested, what remedy have the people but to reduce the postmaster's income with a view to compelling him to give up the office? I do not know any post-offices where boycotting prevails to any considerable extent. I doubt not there are a few men unreasonable enough to try the method in almost any rural community—indeed, I have long since known families, who took some offence at a village postmaster, to mail all their letters on the trains. But where any considerable number of the citizens unite in so doing, it is safe to admit the possibility of some other cause than ultra-party spirit. And when a majority of good citizens combine in "such performances," it is safe to conclude that, whether their manner of redress be justifiable or not, there is at least just cause for complaint. The Republican majority generally represents at least half the good sense of a community, and the presumption is in their favor.

Respectfully, W. E. BARTON.

ROBBINS, TENN., January 19, 1886.

### A DRIVE FOR TROTTERS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Having been a constant reader of the *Nation* since its inception, attracted mainly by the breadth of its views, it was a surprise to see so much narrowness expressed in an article of the above caption.

This part of our continent (the blue-grass region of Kentucky) is visited by many foreigners, attracted doubtless by its park-like beauty; but what engrosses their attention when here is the trotting horse. His high finish, his great speed, his light and airy rig, are all marvels to them. It is the one thing that is, strikingly American, and on that account particularly entertaining. One of my guests, an Englishman of position, after a spin behind a fast roadster, said to me: "If the Prince of Wales had a span of such horses, he would drive nothing else, and then America could not breed trotting horses enough to supply the English demand." As it is, not enough can now be bred to supply the home demand, and men of means have for years been purchasing colts and keeping them until they were old enough to use—laying them in as they do their wines—because the matured could not be obtained at reasonable prices.

No amount of cold water thrown on this recreation can abate the fever. Let us, then, make the best of it, and so arrange for its enjoyment

that harm cannot come from it. If "roads frequented by trotters are sure to be lined with grogeries," let your Park drive be exempt from this evil, and by those who must "needs fill themselves with rum, gin, brandy, or whiskey," some other drive would be sought. The Park drive would neither foster nor hasten the "kidney trouble" among highly-fed business men, for the frequent drinks on that road could not be obtained. But why driving a horse in New York faster than a jog should create such an abnormal thirst, needs some explanation. It certainly does not have that effect elsewhere, not even in a country where whiskey is supposed to flow as water.

But your very provincial idea of "a race course with all that its name implies," is as striking to one living outside of your bailiwick as your bibulous argument. At our fair in this place, the trotting races have been attended for years by from five to six thousand spectators, more than one-half of whom are females, and the divines of every denomination are present. Not a drink of liquor has ever been sold on the grounds, not a drunken person has ever been seen there, and not a cent has ever been wagered on a race. Neither "grass, nor trees, nor shrubbery" in this park have been injured, and "women and children and quiet men" are not driven away, but in increased numbers seek this place, when the trotting race is expected. No quarrel, no profane language, and no bluster has ever been heard there, and this crowd is composed of "lawless Kentuckians." Surely sedate, Christian New Yorkers might contain themselves even if Maud S. and Jay-Eye-See were flying past them.

Your "moral view of the trotting horse" is even more startling than that of the race course; it surpasses the Methodist mountaineer's belief, that the devil is in a fiddle, or that a pack of cards is a coal of fire from hell. Would it not be advisable to have guardians appointed for those "poor young men who have a taste for trotters"? for if deprived of a place to trot their horses they will, without doubt, find some other adequate means of making their "banks or tills suffer sooner or later." Such idiots are made conspicuous because they are seen behind fast horses. Your city is full of just such men who go to the bad without ever having driven a trotter. An ambition to improve one's dwelling, as well as to improve one's horse, makes the tills of many weak men unduly suffer, but handsome dwellings should not on this account be tabooed.

To deprive your hard-worked merchant, whose tax for the benefit of the Park is often princely, of his innocent and healthful recreation, when he has grown too old to straddle a bang-tailed Anglicized American plug, and bob up and down with your host of badly-seated and ill-at-ease horseback riders, because some loud fellows prefer white coats and gin-cocktails when they drive, is hardly reasonable.

No part of your Park would be so entertaining to your visitors, be they native or foreign, as your trotting drive. To see the action and poise of the finest and most tractable horses ever produced in any land, driven by men some of whom are known to fame, and who have a reputation outside of their city not appreciated by their fellow-townsmen, would be worth a visit to New York if nothing else could be seen.

That driving fast horses is immoral cannot be maintained, and that the amusement is low can only be supported because it is American. That nothing is more exhilarating and refreshing to closely-confined mental workers than the rapid motion of the horse, either ridden or driven, is well known. To enjoy horseback exercise one must be a rider, an art only acquired by constant practice in youth, and few of our youths have an

opportunity to so indulge themselves. To drive, and that well, requires much less education, and can be acquired by the old as well as the young. Your horseback riders on their sorry steeds are forlorn objects, that cut a ridiculous figure in the eyes of your English neighbors and your Southern brethren. Your road drivers are behind horses superbly adapted to the business, and at a glance you see that the driver is at his ease—a perfect master of the situation. In the most of our recreations we are weak imitators; in this one we are original. In itself is there neither harm nor guile, and all that is needed to secure its proper rank is a fashionable and genteel place for its enjoyment. No better place could be found to elevate this national taste than your Central Park; and to abandon to rowdies that which is good in itself, and in which we excel, because it is not of foreign importation and lacks the stamp of royalty, is not only puerile but almost contemptible. M.

KENTUCKY, January 18, 1886.

[It is easy to take a hopeful view of what the effect of a trotting course on the Park would be, when looking at the matter from the blue-grass region of Kentucky. But people who live nearer to the Park, and are more interested in it, look into the details a little more closely, and are less sanguine. We are quite willing that the enjoyment of trotting should be "arranged for," and that the Prince of Wales should be tempted into the purchase of a pair of trotting horses, and that "the hard-worked merchant" should not be deprived of his trot. We simply say that there is no room in the Park for the trotting course, and that, if introduced there, it would ruin it as a popular pleasure ground. This may seem startling to any one to whom "five or six thousand spectators," "one-half females," with a sprinkling of "divines of every denomination," is an immense multitude. But we are accustomed here to seeing 75,000 people in the Park in a single day, often without a single divine among them; and the Park is only 700 acres in extent, without the possibility of any addition to it, while a race course in Kentucky, for all practical purposes, embraces the entire State.—ED. NATION.]

#### THE DEATH-RATE FROM CONSUMPTION.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In the *Nation*, No. 1072, Doctor Shattuck objects to the Michigan statistics because not all deaths are reported. No one claims that they are; but, on the other hand, no one claims that there is any greater proportion of deaths reported of persons at one age than another; so that the evidence on relative numbers at different periods of age is good, theoretically, and practically we know it is good because it agrees with the evidence from other sources. In my first letter, I did not "base an argument on such small figures," but referred to them as an illustration of perhaps the first demonstration of a fact which I assumed was well known to statisticians. Since he seems to question what I assumed was well known, the following illustration, from figures on pages 56 and 75 of the Fortieth Report on Vital Statistics of Massachusetts, 1881, should convince him and others who have not given the subject attention.

Doctor Shattuck seems to favor Massachusetts statistics. Employing statistics of nearly one hundred thousand (97,047) deaths from consumption in Massachusetts, during the nineteen years 1863-1881, and an average of the population in

Massachusetts in 1865, '70, '75, and '80, I find by computations the proportions at decennial periods of age as follows:

DEATHS FROM CONSUMPTION ANNUALLY IN 1,000 INHABITANTS IN SAME PERIOD OF AGE.

|                                     |      |                   |
|-------------------------------------|------|-------------------|
| Aged under ten years                | 1.12 | per 1,000 living. |
| Aged ten, and under twenty years    | 1.91 | " " "             |
| Aged twenty, and under thirty yrs.  | 4.94 | " " "             |
| Aged thirty, and under forty years  | 4.28 | " " "             |
| Aged forty, and under fifty years   | 3.70 | " " "             |
| Aged fifty, and under sixty years   | 3.80 | " " "             |
| Aged sixty, and under seventy years | 5.27 | " " "             |
| Aged seventy, and under eighty yrs. | 6.86 | " " "             |
| Aged eighty, and over               | 4.07 | " " "             |

|                                    |      |       |
|------------------------------------|------|-------|
| The average at all ages            | 3.31 | " " " |
| The average at ages under 50 years | 3.04 | " " " |
| The average at ages over 50 years  | 4.77 | " " " |

It will be seen that the average of decedents from consumption at ages over fifty years is about fifty-seven per cent. greater than the average at ages under fifty years.

I suggested that the larger death-rate from consumption (as it is known to statisticians) at ages over fifty years may account for the apparent greater death-rate from that disease among the foreign-born, who average much older than our native-born because the native-born includes so large a proportion of the children of the foreign-born.

I again respectfully submit that to decide the question we need statistics showing the death-rate of each class at each period of age, because of the great variation of the death-rate from consumption at the different periods of age.

Very respectfully, HENRY B. BAKER.

LANSING, MICH., January 22, 1886.

#### OUR FOREIGN MINISTERS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Apropos of your article, "Our Foreign Relations," in No. 1072 of the *Nation*: Many years ago, travelling from Rome to Naples, I was shut up in the front compartment of the diligence with one of our foreign ministers accredited to a Continental Power. I had a card of introduction to him, and found him polite, agreeable, and very communicative. Among other things, he said, giving doubtless the results of his own experience, that the United States had no need of ministers in Europe, excepting, perhaps, England and France; that there was nothing for them to do; that if any serious difficulty should occur requiring the presence of a representative from this country, the business could be settled, as you intimate, by a "special envoy."

GEO. G. FIELD.

RECTORY, COATESVILLE, PA., January 19, 1886.

#### Notes.

G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS' spring announcements include: 'Humorous Masterpieces from American Literature,' edited by Edward T. Mason, in three volumes; 'The Life and Letters of Joel Barlow,' author of 'The Columbiad,' United States Minister to France, etc., by Charles Burr Todd; 'France under Richelieu and Mazarin,' by J. B. Perkins; 'The Adirondacks as a Health Resort,' by William Stickler, M.D.; 'Evolution of Today,' a summary by Prof. H. W. Conn, of Wesleyan University; 'Mechanics and Faith,' by Charles Talbot Porter; 'Poetry as a Representative Art,' by Prof. George L. Raymond, of Princeton; 'Reflections and Maxims,' by Batchelder Greene; 'Le Romantisme Français,' edited for students of French by Profs. T. F. Crane and S. J. Brun, of Cornell; 'The Boys' and Girls' Library of American Biographies'—Fulton, Lincoln, Washington, etc., and 'The Mill Mystery,' by Anna Katharine Green.

The same firm will begin publication in March of a monthly journal to be called the *International Record of Charities and Correction*, a quarto of sixteen pages, edited by Mr. Fred. H.

Wines, than whom no one more fit could be found to conduct such a periodical.

S. E. Cassino, Boston, has in press 'Mineral Physiology and Physiography, or Geological and Mineralogical Studies,' with a general introduction, by Dr. Thomas Sterry Hunt. This work will be incidentally a tribute "to the work of Amos Eaton, who, more than fifty years since, laid on a sound basis the foundations of American geology."

'Without Blemish—To-day's Problem,' by Mrs. J. H. Walworth, is, in the press of Cassell & Co. This new tale, by the author of 'The Bar Sinister,' deals with the problem of the negro's future.

From Houghton, Mifflin & Co. we have new editions—the twenty-second of vol. i, the fifth of vol. ii—of the Rev. James Freeman Clarke's 'Ten Great Religions.' The two volumes are uniform in style, and in handsome dress for the library.

The sixth volume of Mr. Henry Cabot Lodge's edition of Hamilton's Works possesses many features of marked interest—the closing documents in the Whiskey Rebellion; a large number of military papers, culminating in interest as war threatens with France, and Washington is drawn from his retirement; the controversies with Jefferson and with Adams; and the Reynolds pamphlet. This last has a great moral value—all the more because of its unsavoriness. During the late Presidential campaign it was often cited, but probably had little weight in so heated a time. Now that we are eighteen months distant from Mr. Cleveland's nomination, and that so good a Blaine man as Mr. Lodge thinks it right (and we agree with him) to include among Hamilton's permanent works the history of this scandal—this high example of a public man's sacrifice of his character for chastity and conjugal fidelity in order to protect his reputation for official integrity—perhaps some will read and ponder who in 1884 were incapable of it.

Harper & Bros. lend their aid in fostering the newly awakened interest in Count Leo Tolstoi, and send out Part I. of his 'War and Peace' in their Franklin Square Library. The English translator is Clara Bell, who follows a French version by a Russian lady, and is in turn revised by some one unnamed in this country. Some day we shall perhaps do better than this.

Mr. Charles C. Moreau has privately printed a hundred copies of a 'Catalogue of Books Illustrated with Engravings by Dr. Alexander Anderson,' with a biographical sketch of that earliest of American wood-engravers. Anderson was born in New York in 1775, and, under the influence of Bewick, taught himself how to engrave on wood. This 'Catalogue' will be illustrated with Anderson's book-plate, engraved by himself, and by head and tail-pieces cut by Anderson after he was ninety years of age. A few copies of this interesting bibliography will appear in the February sale catalogue of Nash & Pierce, Nassau St., New York.

Students of Montaigne, and of Shakspeare as well, will be glad to have John Florio's translation of the 'Essays' made accessible to them in the reprint edited by Henry Morley (Routledge). The original editions are practically unattainable, and though bulky are harder reading than the very fine though clear print of this reproduction, for which the editor has written a good introduction and a short glossary.

Mr. Clarence E. Blake, Principal of the Springfield (Mass.) Collegiate Institute, has published (D. Appleton & Co.) a small lexicon to the first three books of Homer's 'Iliad,' together with portions of books iv, v, vi, xviii, xxii (entire), and xxiv. In his preface Mr. Blake says: "It has been the author's aim to give the student a full knowledge of each word found in the work. . . . The italics are his own, and there is

some more to the same purpose. It is perhaps needless to say that any such pretension in a little book of 215 pp. is absurd. It is also out of place, because it unnecessarily challenges the critic to try the book by a test which it could not and need not bear. Tried by a more appropriate standard the book seems to be sufficiently full, complete, and accurate to enable the student to read satisfactorily so much of the 'Iliad' as is usually required for admission to college. It will save a vast amount of labor, both of head and hands, to the student who uses it at so early a period in his Greek studies, instead of the mighty quarto of Liddell and Scott. That is enough to entitle the book to the approbation of teachers and pupils.

We have received three additional volumes of the "College Series of Greek Authors," edited under the supervision of John Williams White and Thomas D. Seymour (Boston: Ginn & Co.). The first is a "text edition" of the "Bacchantes" of Euripides, edited by L. T. Beckwith, Professor in Trinity College, "on the basis of Wecklien's edition." As it contains nothing but the Greek text, the only remark it seems to call for is that the mechanical execution is very neat and attractive. The second is an 'Introduction to the Language and Verse of Homer,' by Professor Seymour, of Yale, one of the general editors of the series. The book is intended to bring together and arrange in their proper connection the dialectic forms, metrical peculiarities, and noteworthy characteristics of Homeric style and syntax, which are usually scattered in a fragmentary manner through the commentary. An actual perusal of a large portion of the work warrants us in saying that it fully redeems all the promises of the preface.

The third volume is Plato's 'Apology of Socrates' and 'Crito,' edited on the basis of Cron's edition by Louis Dyer, assistant professor in Harvard University. We have rarely come across an edition of a Greek classic more satisfactory than this. Any one who reads the introduction, containing a summary of the history of Greek Philosophy anterior to the time of Plato, and who dips here and there into the commentary, will not wonder that German scholars have indicated their appreciation of Cron's work by calling for eight editions. Professor Dyer has, however, not confined himself to a mere translation of Cron's work, but has made such alterations and additions as seemed advisable to adapt it to the wants of an "English-thinking and English-speaking public." We are quite confident that no edition of the 'Apology' and 'Crito' can be found equal to this for use as a college text-book. Another advantage of this edition is that the commentary is printed on the same page with the text. This practice is almost universal in Germany, is very generally adopted by English editors, and conduces greatly to the convenience of the reader.

The fourth number of the *American Journal of Archaeology* offers a fine array of news and discussion. We can instance particularly M. Salomon Reinach's description of a singularly pleasing statue of Artemis in the Museum of Constantinople, which this expert regards as a probable late copy of an original to be assigned to the time of Praxiteles—"some masterpiece of the fourth century which has long ago been converted into lime." Professor A. C. Merriam gratifies a widespread curiosity by publishing the text of the law code of the Cretan Gortyna discovered in the flume of an old mill, as our readers are aware. This he both translates and annotates. The tables relating to slaves and to the rights of married women are of especial interest. Professor Merriam assigns these laws to the Solonian period. Compare this with our Fugitive Slave Law of 1850; "Whoever intends

to bring suit in relation to a freeman or a slave, shall not take action by seizure before trial; but, if he do seize him, let the Judge fine him ten staters for the freeman, five for the slave, because he seizes him, and let him adjudge that he shall release him within three days. . . . But if one party contend that he is a free man, the other that he is a slave, those that testify that he is free shall be preferred." Besides the plate of the Artemis, which M. Reinach says does more than justice to the victim of barbarous Turkish scrubbing, there are two other heliotypes, representing fragments of the sculpture of Notre Dame. The monoliths of San Juan Teotihuacan, Mexico, are illustrated in the text of the paper, by Mr. Wm. H. Holmes, which discusses them.

Our excellent contemporary, *Scandinavia*, published monthly in Chicago, has passed through a financial crisis which menaced its continuance except in more restricted proportions. We are glad to learn that it will not be suspended or reduced, and that an incorporated company has taken hold of it.

The Baltimore *Civil-Service Reformer* begins its second volume with renewed vigor. Its positiveness and aggressiveness are refreshing, and quite distinguish it from other papers of the same class. Like these, however, it deserves a more than local circulation.

The *Monthly Index* is the latest outcome of the Q. P. Index scheme. No. 1, for January, lies before us, a broadside—one-half, we are told, of what the February number will be. The subscription price is twenty-five cents a year. A column is devoted to correspondence—a sort of notes-and-queries department. The editor's address is 230 New Jersey Avenue, S. E., Washington, D. C. The publication office, as usual, is Bangor, Maine, and checks should be made payable to Q. P. Index. This monthly issue (which does not supersede the annual volume) is for sale in Boston by Cupples, Upham & Co., and in New York by J. W. Christopher, 47 Dey Street.

The International News Company sends us the first number of the *English Historical Review*, of which we can now only praise the absolute beauty of its typography. Pending our review of its contents, we commend it heartily to all students of history in this country.

The twenty-third Bulletin of the United States National Museum is devoted to a sketch of the life and a full bibliography (filling 273 pages, 8vo, in double columns) of the writings of one of the most venerable and persistently industrious of living naturalists, Dr. Isaac Lea, of Philadelphia, now in his ninety-fourth year. Mr. Newton P. Scudder has edited what is virtually an autobiography of Mr. Lea, full of interesting details relating to himself and to the eminent scientists whose acquaintance he made during two visits abroad. Dr. Lea is of Quaker ancestry, but forfeited his birthright by enlisting for the war of 1812, though not called into service. He is probably the only surviving subscriber to Silliman's *Journal* from the first number of that publication, as he may well be the oldest person in this country ever actively engaged in the publication of books (firm of M. Carey & Sons, Dr. Lea having married a daughter of Mathew Carey). Dr. Lea has preserved all his scientific correspondence since 1818; and the portion of it here printed, embracing letters to and from the late Jeffries Wyman in regard to Agassiz's reluctance to admit the occurrence of animal remains among the coal strata, is suggestive of the value of the vast mass that remains. A fine etching of Dr. Lea serves as a frontispiece to the biographical sketch.

With the February number the *Book-Buyer* will be enlarged and illustrated. In addition to the series of author-portraits there will be other illustrations, taken most frequently from new

books in the manner of the special Christmas number. Mr. Laurence Hutton will begin a brief series of articles on "American Bookplates," a subject of much interest to collectors and hitherto almost wholly neglected. Mr. Hutton's articles will be illustrated. A portrait of Mrs. Frances Hodgson Burnett will be the extra illustration of the February number.

The January *Portfolio* (Macmillan) opens with the beginning of a new book by the editor on "Imagination in Landscape Painting." Those who have followed the discussion in these columns over realism and idealism will find something to the purpose in Mr. Hamerton's chapters, which, by the way, are illustrated in the text, and by a full-page mezzotint after David Cox. Two other etchings are noteworthy: "Elizabeth of France," after Rubens; and "Cattle in Regent's Park," after James Ward, concerning whom Mr. C. O. Murray has large words of praise as an animal designer.

*L'Art* draws for its material in Nos. 516, 517 (Macmillan) on two forthcoming works—on Phidias, by Prof. Max Collignon, and on Donatello, by Eugène Müntz. The chapter borrowed from the former relates to the frieze of the Parthenon, and the illustrations are very fine specimens of "process." Two etchings, after portraits by Antonio Moro of an unknown Jean Gallus and his wife, are the gems of these numbers. But there is also one after Rembrandt's "Jacob Blessing the Children of Joseph," and scattered through the text of an article on Rembrandt by Emile Michel are numerous facsimiles of the artist's own etchings, including some of the most famous.

Mr. Samuel Waddington, the editor of two valuable collections of English sonnets, is now engaged on a third—a gathering of translations into English of sonnets of foreign authors. Mr. Waddington, whose address is No. 47 Connaught Street, Hyde Park, W., London, will be glad to receive suggestions or translated sonnets from any one interested in the subject.

Bertram Dobell, of No. 66 Queen's Crescent, London, is preparing for immediate publication by himself a 'Catalogue of a Collection of Books and Pamphlets Printed for Private Circulation.' This will be the first English book on this interesting subject since the second edition of Martin's 'Catalogue of Books Privately Printed' appeared in 1854.

The Publication Agency of the Johns Hopkins University are about to issue, under the editorial supervision of Prof. Isaac H. Hall, a reproduction in phototype of seventeen pages selected from a Syriac MS. containing the Epistles known as "Antilegomena." These embrace the commonly rejected Epistles 2 Peter, 2 and 3 John, and Jude, of which but one other MS. has ever been published before. Each page will have a separate leaf. The price by mail is three dollars. The same Agency has also nearly ready a photographic map in seven plates, of the normal solar spectrum, made by Prof. H. A. Rowland. It extends to wave-length 5790, and is superior in definition and freedom from distortion to any engraved map ever published. The set unmounted costs ten dollars.

—The discussion of educational reform has been more obviously concerned with the object of attack, the classics, than with the challenger, science; but it becomes plainer that this masked champion of the new age is really dual, and it begins to be uncertain whether applied science, as distinguished from theoretical, is not the more dangerous, and whether the field of conquest will not prove to be in the general public schools rather than the colleges of the old time. In the February *Harper's* Mr. Charles H. Ham recites the progress made by manual training in this country during the decade which has elapsed

since its introduction, and the showing is a very gratifying one. The Massachusetts Institute of Technology has been a very valuable feeder to the new movement, and the lately established school at Chicago bids fair to be to the West in this department what Michigan has been in the academic; the schools at Baltimore, Toledo, and Philadelphia are highly prosperous, and it appears that the system obtains in twenty-seven States. The article, however, is more to be commended to educators and others because of its broadly argued philosophy, which puts the discussion on the grounds of the highest debate. The author disavows the suggestion, lately emanating from Cornell, that these schools should be devoted to training in the arts of their localities, which would involve, he thinks, a perpetuation of caste by education. He does not plead for them on the basis of utilitarianism as being merely practical, but holds that they are better education of the mind and morals, and better adapted to our civil needs, than the schools of the past; he does not even allow that they are a phase of merely industrial conditions. It is the old conflict of training against culture, of action against thought, of society against the individual, though these antitheses are, of course, only suggestive. It does seem, however, that the habit of continually blending the thought with the act is of the highest intellectual value, that accustoming the youth to labor tends to give them more correct and sensible notions of the business of life, and to kill out the notion—that miserable outgrowth of our high schools—that hand labor is degrading, and thirdly, that the hygienic effects (for these hours of manual training are only supplementary to the ordinary English branches) are excellent in the extreme.

—The *Atlantic* is noteworthy for the most admirable article in the political field, both as a piece of reasoning and as a literary production, that has been in its pages for a very long time. It is a discussion by Mr. A. L. Lowell of the probable effects upon our Government of making our present Cabinet responsible to Congress, in the same way as a Parliamentary ministry. The author discusses the subject in all its branches, as it would affect the two houses, the President, and the courts, and incidentally unfolds the scheme and underlying philosophy of our Constitution with a lucidity, speed, and grasp that are of the greatest rarity in this department. He concludes that the change would wreck our governmental structure and seriously narrow its political theory. It will be of interest to note that at the close of his article he opposes Mr. Wilson, the author of the recent notable book on Congressional Government, holding that the balance of powers, as originally framed, has not been practically deranged by the political development of the century, although there have been gains and losses of power by the various component parts; the gradual recovery of power by the States since the Reconstruction period, the recuperation of the Presidency since Johnson's administration, and the enlarged field and essentially unchanged prestige of the Supreme Court, being especially insisted on.

—The effort of Professor Freeman, a few years since, to formulate a science of comparative politics, worthy to rank with political economy on the one hand and comparative philology or religion on the other, has not proved very successful; chiefly, we suppose, because the number of politicians, whether practical or amateur, among the reading class is so much smaller than that of theologians and philologists. The recent discussion of its rules by the House of Representatives was generally treated by the press as an abstruse question, of no interest except in its bearing upon specific legislative propositions such as tariff re-

form. The lately published handbook of the Librarian of Congress does, indeed, give a synopsis of the rules of the French House, but the procedure of other parliamentary bodies, especially those of Germany, which, from the federal nature of its government, present peculiar analogies with our own, are not even mentioned. "Der Mechanismus des Reichstags," as it is called by a writer in the January *Vom Fels zum Meer*, affords, however, material for an interesting study, since at almost every point the procedure contrasts with that to which we are accustomed. As everywhere, except in Great Britain, the German Parliament decides upon the qualifications of its members. At the beginning of the session the reports of all the voting precincts, forwarded by the various State governments, are examined by committees, the members who have a prima-facie valid title to their seats being divided for this purpose into seven sections, chosen by lot, the same number of cases being assigned to each, and the destination of each case being likewise determined by lot. The fact of the Parliament's being an afterthought, or, as is often asserted, a fifth wheel on the Government chariot, instead of being the ruling estate, or, at any rate, one of three mutually independent bodies, is shown at the outset in its inability to unseat an illegally elected member. All it can do is to adopt the committee's report to that effect, which carries with it a request to the Ministry to take the further steps necessary. But as the Ministry is independent of the Parliament, it takes its time, and often its investigation is not finished till Parliament's term of service has expired. Add to this that contestants get neither expenses nor salary, and it will be seen that the inducements to contest on the part of anti-administration candidates are not great.

—The credentials of at least 200 members having been reported to be correct, Parliament proceeds to the election of its speaker—the acting speaker having been its oldest (in service, we presume) member. Two vice-presidents, always members of the majority, are then chosen, and eight secretaries, among whom, by custom, all considerable "groups" are represented. Four of the secretaries, who are chosen from among the youngest and most active members, serve at a time, one of their duties being to prevent members, in revising the stenographic reports of their "remarks," from making any changes except verbal corrections. It appears, however, that complaints of the inaccuracy of the "record" are not infrequent, even in Germany. The secretaries also count the votes and act as tellers, as well as serve as reading clerks. The permanent committees, six in number, are chosen by vote by the seven divisions above described, each division having an equal representation. The committees deal, respectively, with rules, petitions, commerce and industry, finance and taxation, justice, and appropriations. The speaker has the right to take part in the proceedings of any committee, and any member of Parliament who chooses may be present. But the public, including reporters, are rigorously excluded, so that the papers have to depend upon the favor of members for their information. This secrecy makes corrupt combinations possible and, it is charged, not infrequent. In nothing, however, is the practice of the German Parliament so widely different from ours as in the rules intended to prevent waste of time and printer's ink. Such a bunkum institution as our "bill day" is avoided by forbidding even the introduction of any original proposition unless the would-be introducer can secure for it at least thirteen sponsors besides himself. The practical result of this rule is that no bills are introduced merely to please a constituent or to call forth a commendatory leader in

a local paper—none, in short, which have not at their back the majority of some one of the many parties or groups into which the Parliament is divided. The present Parliament, by the way, is the first in which the Socialists could obtain a hearing, except in debate on a bill fathered by some other party—their number, hitherto, having been below fourteen.

—Professor Preyer, of Jena, well known through his researches into hypnotism, the development of the infant mind, etc., does not believe in telepathy, and attempts in a twenty-two-page article to give the readers of the January *Rundschau* the reasons for his scepticism. His criticisms are confined to the Proceedings of the Society for Psychical Research in London, which in September, 1882, numbered 100, and a year ago 520 members, including 140 women. With truly German contempt for the feminine intellect, Dr. Preyer remarks that "the large number of female members and participants shows at the very outset that a strictly scientific spirit cannot be regarded as underlying the Society's proceedings." But since the Society has assumed such large dimensions as to have its special headquarters and a library, and since it includes among its active or honorary members such names as Balfour Stewart, Lord Rayleigh, Professor Bowditch, Mr. Crookes, and Mr. A. R. Wallace, Preyer thinks it worth while to examine their proceedings critically, so as to caution his countrymen against these useless proceedings, and prevent, if possible, the formation of a similar society in Germany. Preyer's analyses of a number of the 600 reported cases of telepathy are exceedingly ingenious and subtle, and, though he concedes that the possibility of thought transference cannot be disproved, he makes out a good case that the experimenters have constantly ignored sources of error which vitiate their conclusions. Especially ingenious is his explanation of the countless ways in which the two persons to be examined can communicate with each other, if in the same or adjoining rooms—as by means of different noises made in breathing through mouth or nose, movements with the foot, gnashing of the teeth, etc.; remembering at the same time that individuals, owing to great nervous susceptibility or to training, are endowed with an abnormal acuteness of the senses as are hypnotized persons. In Liverpool, for example, two girls were examined who claimed that one could tell what the other ate, if the latter was allowed to put her hand on the former's shoulder. Aside from the fact that there might have been a prearranged alphabet of signs through pressure on the shoulder, there was the probability that one of the girls had a very acute sense of smell. The result showed that in thirty-two trials only six answers came out correct, and in five of these cases the substance used had a strong odor. In other instances, where one of the persons under examination puts the question himself to the other, Preyer points out that the whole secret may be betrayed by special accents placed on certain words, in the same way that dogs can be taught to pick out certain cards, to add and subtract, by emphasizing certain words. The cases of alleged action of one mind on another, at greater distances, Preyer regards as either due to coincidence, to fraud, to hallucinations, to incorrect reporting, or to lack of accurate observation, which, always difficult, is more especially so in the region of psychic phenomena. In conclusion, he points out that savages ascribe nothing to chance, while with progressive civilization we see more and more how many things that appear to be related as cause and effect are mere coincidences.

—In the same number of the *Rundschau* Eduard von Hartmann has a long and interesting article

on "Musical Aesthetics," which is probably, a chapter in his forthcoming general work on aesthetics. He briefly examines the theories of Kant, Schelling, Hegel, Vischer, Schopenhauer, Hanslick, Lazarus, Engel, Hausegger, and makes many subtle and suggestive criticisms. Hartmann, if we mistake not, had intended to become a musician before the happy thought struck him that he might chisel a new idol, and place it in the pantheon of metaphysical fetishes, labelled the "Unconscious." His early musical training, therefore, ought to qualify him to speak more intelligently than most of his predecessors on this subject. The great trouble with musical aesthetics has hitherto been that almost all the authors who have written about it have been either ignorant of music or of psychology. Kant and Schopenhauer, with their deep insight into mental problems, had a ludicrously inadequate conception of music from a practical point of view, and Vischer was in the same predicament. Hanslick, on the other hand, as well as Engel, Ehrlich, and even Wagner, had but an elementary knowledge of psychology, so that they were little better off than the other group. Hartmann is both a musician and a psychologist, but whether this advantage has enabled him to find the key to the mysteries of mind and music cannot be inferred from the *Rundschau* article. There are, unfortunately, indications that, as usual, he has prostrated himself before his fetish, and is going to parade that once more as the final cause and essence of all things. The best thing in his article is the incisive and lucid manner in which he exposes the inconsistencies and contradictions in the systems of Schopenhauer, Engel, and especially of Hanslick, whose treatise on the 'Beautiful in Music,' being the only generally intelligible one ever written, has reached a sixth edition, despite his absurd attempt to deny music its emotional import, and his formal theory which degrades music to something little better than an acoustic kaleidoscope.

—M. Alex. Bertrand has protested, in a memoir read before the Academy of Inscriptions, against applying the division of prehistoric archaeology into Stone Age, Bronze Age, and Iron Age to other countries than Scandinavia. There the division holds. There was first an epoch when the metals were unknown and the dead were buried in megalithic monuments; then one in which gold and bronze were known and the dead were burned; in a third, iron and silver are added to the metals known. But this chronology, first employed by Thomsen, Keeper of the Copenhagen Museum of Antiquities, between 1830 and 1835, is only partly true of the rest of Europe. An early age in which metals were unknown may generally be found, but if a country was settled late, by nations who already were acquainted with metals, those countries would have little or no trace of a Stone Age, and this appears to be the case with Greece and Germany. And in the two last ages there is no reason why bronze should everywhere precede iron. Bronze, an alloy of copper and tin, would only be made where tin was easily obtainable. At any rate, the Bronze Age is confined to Scandinavia and Ireland. But Gaul makes up for its poverty in this respect by having three stone ages—the Quaternary, when man coexisted with animals now extinct; the Cave period, to which the engraved reindeer bones belong; and the Neolithic or polished-stone age. As to the Iron Age, all one can say is that it is late everywhere, but it is thousands of years earlier in some countries, Egypt, for instance, than in others. It appears to have slowly marched from the East, reaching the Danube and Italy long before Gaul, and Gaul six or seven centuries before it is found in Denmark and Ireland. Westward the path of iron takes its way.

#### HADLEY'S RAILROAD TRANSPORTATION.

*Railroad Transportation, its History and Laws.*

By Arthur T. Hadley. G. P. Putnam's Sons.

PROFESSOR HADLEY'S treatise is no less timely than it is valuable. Prepared as a course of college lectures, the published work, as is not unusual in such cases, bears plain traces of the fact; much of it, while sufficiently good for class-room delivery, hardly bears the test of reading. It would have been well if these portions, when not wholly stricken out, had been considerably reduced in the process of printing. Nevertheless, taken as a whole, the work is the result of an investigation no less wide than exhaustive, and one possible only to a thoroughly equipped man, familiar with many modern languages.

The treatise comes just when Congress is called upon to deal with a new question of first-class importance. Up to the present time the national Government has made no effort to solve the so-called railroad problem. So far as this question is concerned, the statute book is as yet a clean sheet of paper; and if national legislation regulating railroad traffic between the States is now to be entered upon at all, it is important it should be entered upon intelligently. The indications thus far have not been encouraging. For years certain members of Congress have been groping around the subject in a blind sort of a way. Among these Mr. Reagan, of Texas, has been most prominent. Indeed, the "Reagan bill," so called, has regularly made its appearance before each recent Congress, has almost as regularly been reported to the House against the judgment of the major part of the Committee which had the matter under consideration, and has then passed by acclamation. Every effort to stop it has proved futile. In the Senate it has as regularly met its death, generally disappearing among the mass of unfinished business. It has deserved its fate. A cruder, more bungling piece of legislation could hardly be devised. Some twenty years behind the times, it is based upon no thorough study, and rumor says was originally drafted by an obscure Pennsylvania lawyer, who hoped to deal through the national Government with questions arising between the Pennsylvania and some other railroad of that State. Nevertheless, the Reagan bill will undoubtedly be pressed before this Congress by its author no less vehemently than it was pressed before the last. It may again pass the House of Representatives, though there is slight chance that it will ever become a law. This is fortunate, for in entering upon legislation the first step goes for much. Where that is wrong, all that follows is apt to be wrong.

The Reagan bill will probably fail to become a law owing to the fact that the two branches of Congress are at cross purposes on the subject to which it relates. Senator Cullom, of Illinois, took the railroad question up during the last Congress as his peculiar province in the Senate, as it was that of Mr. Reagan in the House. In the measure which he prepared he came near the correct principle, for he proposed the establishment of a commission. His bill was substituted for that of Mr. Reagan by the Senate, and there the matter ended. Meanwhile a Senatorial Committee was appointed to investigate the whole subject, and during the past summer that Committee has been over almost the entire country, hearing evidence and receiving impressions from all sorts of people. The material thus accumulated fills two bulky volumes which few will have the courage to open. It is this which makes Prof. Hadley's book so peculiarly timely. In it he compresses the recent experience of all Europe bearing upon this same question, and puts it compactly at the disposal of the Congress. He

neatly supplements the work of the Cullom Committee, and there is no other book which covers the same ground in the same way. Some years since, indeed, a treatise was published by Mr. C. F. Adams, jr., then about to leave the Massachusetts Railroad Commission, which covered a portion of the ground; but new investigations have since taken place, establishing results then only partially developed. Some of the conclusions at which Mr. Adams arrived have by experience been found erroneous, and Mr. Hadley has also penetrated into fields which either then did not exist, or which Mr. Adams did not enter upon. This work, therefore, supersedes the earlier treatise. It is not only wider and more thorough, but it is later. It covers recent developments in Great Britain, as well as in Belgium, Prussia, Austria, France, and, above all, Italy. The last word each of those countries has to say upon the transportation problem is, therefore, presented at just the right moment, in compact, easily comprehended shape.

Yet after all perhaps the most curious feature of the work is the small value which all this vast mass of matter that Prof. Hadley has condensed, has for America. In other words, the railroad experience of one country seems to be of limited value to other countries. Too much depends upon the traditions and political habit of the people of each country, upon the manner in which they approach problems, and the business organizations through which they work. This is brought out very clearly by Prof. Hadley in some criticisms he passes upon a conclusion of Mr. Adams's, to the effect that results worked out to a satisfactory practical result by an appeal to public opinion in Massachusetts had likewise been worked out to a similar result by appeal to public opinion in Great Britain. Speaking from recent official investigations, Prof. Hadley shows that this is not the case. The direct opposite is the case. Influences which in this country, working through newspapers, public discussion, and in the halls of legislation, will produce a certain effect, cannot be relied on to produce at all equal effects in Great Britain. The great railroad corporations there have not the same regard to public opinion; they have not the same fear of legislative action. Everything in England moves in slower and more conservative channels, and in a less aggressive way. As Prof. Hadley's investigation widens he finds this true also of other countries, only in yet greater degree. Public opinion has less power in France than in England; and less again in Germany than in France.

On the other hand, the influences which have produced results in Europe can hardly be depended on to produce them in America. The power of the Government does not make itself felt in the same way; the people look less to the Government for direction and support; military conditions do not need to be regarded; police regulations are less customary. It becomes, therefore, apparent to the careful reader of Prof. Hadley's pages that, to be worked out successfully, the American railroad problem must be approached in a wholly new spirit and from a new direction. It must be handled with the most careful regard to the political, social, and business conditions existing on this continent; and with very little regard for those existing elsewhere. In fact, European experience is largely misleading for America.

The present tendency of American railroad legislation is distinctly toward what is known as the Massachusetts system. This system was the result of what Mr. C. F. Adams, jr., who had a good deal to do with it in its early days, has termed "a happy legislative guess." In 1860 public opinion in Massachusetts called for some regula-

tion of railroads. A commission naturally suggested itself, but the Legislature was not willing to intrust the Commissioners with large or general powers. Accordingly, a bill was passed creating a commission, but giving it power to do little more than investigate, report, and recommend. Only under certain conditions was the Attorney-General to lend assistance to the Commissioners when it appeared that a statute of the State was distinctly violated. We believe we are correct in saying that in not more than two or three instances in the course of fifteen years has this reserve power been called into play. At first the Commissioners had small faith that they could accomplish anything. Indeed, the question was, How could they avoid falling into contempt? Nevertheless, they went to work receiving complaints and investigating. Their investigations were of two classes—first, those arising out of specific causes of complaint; and second, those of a general character instituted by themselves. Gradually a system built itself up. It was what might fairly be called an essentially "American system." The only force the Commissioners had to rely upon was an intelligent, educated public opinion. Not having the sheriff's officer at their beck, they were obliged to meet the corporations or their representatives when any subject of complaint presented itself, and to discuss the issue to a result. If the Commissioners were wrong in the conclusions they reached, the fact would surely be made to appear, and they would be unable to press their demands. On the other hand, if they were right, it became a question of the degree of weight which the corporations would attach to their findings. The appeal, therefore, was neither to the constable nor to the court of law. It was to reason and an intelligent public opinion, with the Legislature always in the background. The result perhaps astonished no one so much as the Commissioners themselves. Half the time, at least, they found themselves compelled to take the side of the corporations. The causes of complaint were frivolous, or groundless, or unreasonable. They would not bear statement. The taking the side of the corporations in so large a proportion of cases inspired the latter with confidence. They felt that the Commissioners were fair. Accordingly, the corporations were not wholly indisposed to yield when the decision was against them; and where a decision was thus rendered, and was supported with a sufficiently vigorous presentation before the Legislature, the corporations almost always did yield. Indeed, it is said that the cases on record are few in which they failed in the end to do so.

Such a system is a new departure. It is also essentially, and in the best sense of the word, "American." It was constantly referred to in the hearings before the Cullom Senatorial Committee, and in their report it is spoken of as "the most conspicuous instance of the purely advisory Commission; . . . and by reason of its successful working under a novel plan and of the ability of its membership, it has always made its influence widely felt. . . . Its success is now undisputed." The Committee accordingly recommends that Congress should provide for a national Commission based on the same fundamental idea. Meanwhile, in Massachusetts itself, the Commission seems to be somewhat drifting away from its original moorings. As it has acquired the confidence of the community, powers have gradually been conferred upon it. The constable is more and more placed at its disposal. This seems unfortunate. The more a constable is placed behind a Commissioner, the less the Commissioner will rely upon investigation and the correctness of his findings, and the more he will rely upon force. It is difficult also to persuade the people even of this

country to have faith in reason, discussion, and the ultimate supremacy of what is fair and right. They are continually clamoring for laws which will bring about at once the results they desire. This is especially the case in the West. Whenever a Western railroad commission has been organized upon the Massachusetts principle, it has almost universally been argued either that the Commissioners were bribed by the railroad companies; or else, having no power, that they could accomplish nothing. In point of fact the men who have been appointed Commissioners have, as a rule, been incompetent to perform their duties. They could not meet the representatives of the corporations in discussion. Had they been qualified to do so, the results would probably have been more satisfactory.

In addition to the vast amount of light shed upon the results of European experience, this American phase of the question is elaborately discussed by Prof. Hadley. The course of the Massachusetts Commission is traced from its commencement. It is to be hoped, therefore, that this treatise may find its way into the hands of as many members of Congress as possible. The fact should be recognized that a great system for the regulation of the most important material interests of the day is to be built up. In that work it will be well to make haste slowly. A commission should be provided, not too large, the first duty of which would be to investigate, and formulate the results of its investigations in recommendations of law. The Commissioners should look into every cause of complaint to which their attention is called. From these cases, as they are presented and heard, principles would gradually be evolved. When principles are so evolved, and not until then, can Congressional measures calculated to dispose of the matter find their way into the statute-book.

But it is impatiently asserted that this process takes time. It certainly is open to that objection. Meanwhile, on the other hand, the results thus far reached through that other process by which the Reagan bill was evolved—covering as they do a period of fifty years—are certainly not satisfactory. The number of statesmen who, like Senator Logan, of Illinois, think that the last results of political economy and social science may be mastered by giving to their study the leisure time of a fortnight, is considerable. Probably there are still many members of both branches of Congress who believe that in the course of half an hour they could formulate a few short laws which would settle the whole railroad question. Prof. Hadley's book would be of value to such, if for no other reason than to show how, through half a century, all the countries in Europe have been struggling with this question, and have as yet reached no satisfactory results. It might also show them that the results reached in Europe are hardly applicable to this country, and that whatever results are applicable to this country are in a large degree to be found in the experience and records of a single State. Finally, it is greatly to be hoped that, should a national commission be organized, a man so thoroughly equipped for its work as Prof. Hadley may find a prominent place upon it. His study, habit of mind, and power of patient investigation could hardly fail to affect in a marked degree the results reached by any body of which he might be a member. Probably there is no other available man in the country equally well equipped for this particular work.

#### THE SCHUYLERS OF NEW YORK.

*Colonial New York.* Philip Schuyler and his Family. By Geo. W. Schuyler. 2 vols., 8vo. Chas. Scribner's Sons, 1885.

COLONISTS on this continent from both the great

national stocks which mainly produced them were piously mindful of the Scriptural injunction to replenish the earth and subdue it. The first appearance of the sturdy emigrant from Amsterdam, Peter Schuyler, is on the occasion of his marriage in 1650; and of his eleven children the nine who were married (fourteen times, among them) have left nearly 500 descendants whose names find a place in this record, besides the many undiscovered.

The race is remarkable for quality as well as for quantity. Its succession counts many not obscure nor inactive in each generation. A Schuyler of the earliest days spent his life in negotiation and diplomacy. The friend of the Indians, his policy of honesty protected the colony from their attacks and from French invasion more completely than could the weapons of either its mother, Holland, or its stepmother, England. A Schuyler of the later day has given inherited diplomatic ability to the public service in the border lands of Europe among races as fickle as the Five Nations, and only on the surfaceless savage. Before New York first changed its master the Schuylers were familiar with the profession of arms, as indeed the inhabitants of the outpost towns Beaverwyck and Esopus had need to become. A Schuyler held high command at the opening of the Revolution, and devoted skill and sacrificed fortune in preparing the way for Burgoyne's surrender, of which another reaped the honor. In the civil war and in the border contests which now employ our army the Schuylers maintained the family traditions of ability in action, fortitude in reverse, and courage at all times.

The author does not attempt to trace his ancestor's lineage further back than the landing from Amsterdam, merely saying that he came as a free man, not brought over as a patroon's colonist. To be sure; the authentic coat-of-arms is given from which a Burke might easily weave a connecting thread with perhaps imperial Henry the Fowler. But the writer's sensible view, that the best nobility is that of a man's own deeds, expresses itself in amusing criticism upon the efforts of certain other Dutch lines to pierce and dignify the uncertainty of their family origin. He takes pains to show genealogically that the sovereignty of Courland can never have belonged to an emigrating ancestor of the New York family bearing a slightly similar name. He puts a peasant at the head of the race of Buren, instead of the counts who bore that title as kin to the house of Orange. And the blood of the De Lanceys is rather curtly "said to have been derived from a noble family," though in this instance the claim can be clearly made out.

The first Schuylers, like most of the Dutch colonists of note and enterprise, began as traders, and ended as land buyers. Their arts were those of peace, and their possessions fairly purchased. The regulations of the West India Company for the planting of colonies obliged all settlers outside of Manhattan Island "to satisfy the Indians for the lands they shall settle upon." The Dutch faithfully and honestly practised that justice which the planters of other colonies either did not attempt at all or failed to persevere in. They had their reward in the constant friendship of the most powerful of the native tribes.

The wealth gathered in trade by the early Schuylers was prudently invested in houses and lands. Yet they did not aspire to rank among the five or six great landholders of the colony, who afterwards immensely enlarged their possessions through royal grants from provincial governors. We do not read that the boundary lines of their individual purchases ran, as in other instances, for sixteen, twenty, twenty-four miles, including such natural landmarks as mountain chains and rivers. The curious land history of

New York is rather to be traced in the records of the patroon and the manor holder. Patroons were originally members of the West India Company, and, on certain conditions as to colonizing, enjoyed semi-feudal rights over their purchased territory, including the appointment of civil and military officers and the settlement of clergymen. The only patroon at the time of the English conquest was the descendant of the only one ever really recognized, Killian van Rensselaer, and his domain (but not all his dominion) was confirmed to him by royal patent as a manor, in 1685. The next year Robert Livingston obtained from Governor Dongan the erection into a manor of his great possessions; and in 1697, Governor Fletcher granted the same privilege, little else than titular, to the Van Cortlandts. Part of these great estates remains with the descendants of the original patentees, the greater portion being parcelled out among numerous families. The Schuylers do not appear to have kept together the bulk of their landed property, though we read of one descendant in New Jersey, the heiress also of other lines, who in 1765 bestowed herself and her very considerable estate upon Captain Kennedy, afterwards Earl of Cassilis, who thus became "the greatest householder in New York."

Nor was it as politicians, influential with the managers of State affairs at the capital of the province, that the Schuylers shone. The type of the men who pushed their fortunes at that remote time by such means, is Robert Livingston. As an enterprising trader, as a great Government contractor, as an office-holder for fifty years, his Scotch thrift, his Dutch alliance, his friendship with men near the throne, his influence with provincial governors, earned him high consideration. His life was stirring and adventurous. By turns displaced from office and restored, intriguing on both sides of the ocean, the patron of Kidd, now the friend and now the enemy of Bellomont and Burnet, once a Leislerian and again an anti-Leislerian, he is the most notable example of the versatile politician of his day. He left a great estate, and a name as conspicuous as any in colonial annals.

There was, however, a field for action vital to the interest and even the existence of the colony and the province in which the early Schuylers spent life and fortune, and won deserved fame. Along the northern and western frontiers of New York, beyond Albany and Kingston, stretched the territory held by the powerful confederacy of the Five Nations, numbering twelve hundred fighting men of the most warlike Indian tribes. A New England policy of seizure for the saints and persecution to extermination for conscience' sake, would have turned them into relentless enemies. The Dutch spoke them kindly. What lands they wanted they honestly bought. What goods were needed they fairly bartered. Instead of a deadly terror, these savages became close friends, bound with the Dutch in a covenant-chain, and a safeguard to the English against French invasion. One English governor said, "They are a better defence than so many Christians." Another wrote, "They are our only bulwark." These trading Hollanders builded better than they knew. They built with good faith and good will, little dreaming that they were sheltering the young life of a State from the enmity of one empire till it should prosper and strengthen into the might to cast off the oppression of another. In 1686 Peter Schuyler, son of the Amsterdam immigrant, appointed by Governor Dongan Mayor of the newly chartered city of Albany, was officially chairman of the Board of Commissioners for Indian Affairs. Thenceforward for nearly forty years he continued in this service. His bravery, his hospitality, and his self-respect in dealings with the Indians gave him an

unbounded influence over their capricious and suspicious natures. They trusted "Quidor"—the nearest imitation of the name of Peter they could frame—when they would trust no one else. "During this time," says the author, "his prudence in council and his authority among the Five Nations saved the province from serious difficulties." More than once his timely warnings gave protection to the settlements in Massachusetts also.

Before the conversion of the Dutch colony into the English province the Five Nations had usually been hostile to the French, who made more than one inroad with disciplined forces into their territory, and suffered the horrors of savage retaliation. With the near approach of English power, the French changed their policy. If they hoped to succeed in the struggle for empire on this side the ocean, the Indians would be useful allies. If presents, and the promise of trade, and the persuasions of Jesuit missionaries could not win their aid, at least they might be conciliated and held neutral. For the English it was essential to maintain the friendly relations nursed by the Dutch, brightening and strengthening the old covenant-chain. The Five Nations were shrewd enough to profit by the quarrels of kings without pledging allegiance to either Power, or directly aiding either by arms. In this crossing of interests and purposes the tact and experience of Peter Schuyler found ample occasion for their display, and the English governors were content for the most part to borrow his influence and claim at home the credit for its fortunate results. The singular usurpation of Leisler for a time disturbed this condition of affairs, which was further complicated by the declaration of war between England and France. Schuyler wrote that the Indians would side with the strongest. Leisler, gaining possession of Albany, deposed Schuyler, who was, however, restored to office within three months, on Leisler's fall and execution. Thereafter he continued to conduct negotiations with the Indians, to convoke and attend councils, and to command attacks upon Canada, some of them brilliantly successful, till the peace of Utrecht, in 1713, gave repose to the province for thirty years, until long after the death of Schuyler.

The study of Peter Schuyler's public career leads to the conclusion that there was no citizen of the province in his day to whom its safety and prosperity owed so much; and the retrospect of its history teaches us that his repute in England, the other colonies, and France, as the great obstacle to French plans of empire on this continent, was well deserved. His name has outlasted the existence of the tribes he controlled. The State doles out a few thousand dollars yearly to the remnant of the great Indian confederacy, but their public action lingers only in an occasional lease of lands to a corporation or the grant of a railroad pass for their annual meetings; unless, indeed, some trace of their character may be supposed to be adopted and to survive in the treaties and the treacheries of Tammany sachems.

As is the case with all the early Dutch families, the bearers of the name of Schuyler, in the second generation even, by no means represent all the character and influence of the line. Before half a century from his coming the children of the founder had intermarried with almost all the principal settlers of Beaverwyck. In the next generation the complication of inter-alliances thickens, and the genealogical tables and comments that fill many pages of these volumes present a tangle of cross-relationships as entertaining—to those concerned—as a Chinese puzzle. Such intermarriages promoted unity of interest and action at Albany, while in New York the effect upon the intimately allied inhabitants of public changes was very different. At the court

end of the province the caprice of governors lifted families into importance or dropped them out of favor and employment. Leisler, connected by marriage with leading people, divided society into hostile factions whose violence, embittered by his execution, disturbed the town for generations. The presence of Government, of course, fostered a strong Tory party in later times, so that the Revolution found brother arrayed against brother and compelled cruel divisions among kindred. Leading families were broken up, crushed by confiscation or exile, and on the ruins of their fortunes new ones rose, the obscure growing prosperous. Mutations of politics affected Albany less. Its citizens had, of course, their factions, but at no time did Leislerians or Tories control.

The history of Albany, indeed, is the history of the province separate from that of the capital, and is more purely and distinctly colonial than that of New York city. In making this history the work of the Schuylers was direct and constant and on the right side. Albany stood independent from the beginning. Her patroon held his rights firmly against the Dutch Directors. The city yielded to Leisler for a few months only, through force and by persuasion of the other colonies. Self-protection amid constant dangers compelled united action. The war-path from Montreal and from Onondaga led straight to her homes. She stood sentry at the outpost of greatest peril. The fidelity, courage, and sacrifice of her chief citizens entitle them to a record that has been unfairly overshadowed by the more varied and exciting annals of the capital.

Whatever of that history may be gathered from these volumes is full of interesting detail and curious anecdote. They do not aim to present it compactly or continuously. The nature of their subject required tedious repetitions. The incidents of the family record, however, with some pains taken in comparisons, piece out a tolerably connected narrative of public affairs in colonial times. This faithful study of an ancestral line throws a strong light upon the solid virtues of the Dutch founders of our commonwealth, and deserves the praise of all New Yorkers who are proud of the truth that Holland is an equal sharer with England in the building of their State.

#### SCHLIEHMANN'S TIRYNS.—II.

*Tiryns.* The Prehistoric Palace of the Kings of Tiryns: The Results of the Latest Excavations. By Dr. Henry Schliemann, Hon. D.C.L., Oxon., etc. The Preface by Prof. F. Adler, and contributions by Dr. Wm. Dörpfeld. With 188 woodcuts, 24 plates in chromo-lithography, 1 map, and 4 plans. Charles Scribner's Sons. 1885. Pp. lxi., 385.

THE *megaron* was the principal room in the palace, in which guests were received and entertained. This *megaron* measures about 38 feet by 31, and was supported by four pillars, of which only the round stone bases remain. The floor was covered with a concrete, chiefly of lime, on which was painted "a bright, simple carpet-pattern" (pp. 225, 226), made by bands of three parallel lines dividing the surface into squares and rectangles. Distinct traces of red color remain in some of the squares, and faint traces of blue in the dividing bands. In the middle of the room is a circle, about 10½ feet in diameter, in which there is no concrete: this is without doubt the hearth of the house, the centre of domestic life. The four pillars of the roof surround it; and we have before us the scene of the 'Odyssey,' when Nausicaa directs Ulysses to her mother. He is to go directly to the *megaron* of the palace, where he will find the Queen "sitting at the hearth in the light of the fire, leaning against a pillar, plying her spindle with sea-purple wool,

while behind her sit her hand-maidens." Against the same pillar stands the seat of her father, "on which he sits and sips his wine like an immortal" ('Odyssey,' vi., 305-309).

Near the great *megaron* on the east, but without any direct communication with it, is a small courtyard, upon which opens a smaller *megaron* through a nearly square vestibule, which here represents both *prodomos* and *aitousa*. This *megaron* measures about 25 feet by 18; it has a central hearth, but no supporting pillars; and its vestibule appears to have had no columns between its antæ. This is a repetition, on a smaller scale, of the principal court and its hall, and there can hardly be a doubt that it is the women's dwelling so frequently mentioned by Homer. The plan of the palace will show that, although there was no direct passage between these apartments and the great hall, there was a very indirect means of communication through several narrow and winding passages in the rear of the palace, and possibly another between the two inner courts through a third court on the east. There was also a narrow passage leading from the women's court directly to the outer propylæum of the palace. It is difficult to reconcile some references in the 'Odyssey' to the women's quarters in the palace of Ithaca with the more complicated arrangements found at Tiryns, especially as regards communication between the two *megara*; but we can easily understand that in a palace with only one or two courts the separation of the women's apartment from the men's would be much less complete.

The discovery of these courts and *megara* at Tiryns sheds new light on the similar buildings found on the acropolis of Troy. It is now obvious that the two structures at Hissarlik, which were called temples by both Schliemann and Dörpfeld in 'Troja' (*Nation*, No. 974), are *megara* with vestibules, built on the same general plan as those at Tiryns. The greater hall at Troy had a central hearth, and was much larger than that at Tiryns; it was about 33 feet wide, and 60 feet long to the edge of the northern trench dug by Schliemann, by which the greater part of the building was cut off before its existence was suspected. It is hard to decide whether the smaller structure at Troy (called Temple B. in 'Troja'), which had three divisions, was the women's apartment, or (as Dörpfeld suggests) "a smaller men's house" (p. 224). What we hear of the domestic arrangements of the large royal family of Troy gives us wide range for speculation. We can now understand the structure southeast of the supposed temples at Hissarlik, which is obviously a gateway to an inner court; indeed, the open passage and the great stone threshold of the gate were found in 1882, although they are not marked on the plan in 'Troja.' We think we can see, further, why this structure was built directly over the long covered way which led into the hill from the lower level of the southern gate (NF in 'Troja'); a flight of steps from the covered way to the propylæum would give the inner court of the palace a direct communication with the southern gate below, while the gateway itself would be approached on the same level by the great southeast gate of the acropolis (OX in 'Troja').

In the northeast corner of the palace at Tiryns are many rooms of various sizes, which may have been bedrooms or storerooms, and others on the west have been swept away with the western wall. One most interesting room remains on the west, which at once suggests the elegant hospitality of an heroic prince; the bathroom. This measures about ten feet by eight and a half, and its floor consists of a single slab of limestone, more than two feet thick, with its upper surface "carefully levelled and polished." The use of the room is made certain by "a square gutter"

in the northeast corner of the floor, by which water was carried into a drain. Evident traces of drainage are found in other parts of the building (pp. 232, 233). The room was probably wainscoted, as is shown by rows of dowel-holes. Even a fragment of the bath-tub has been found, and it is shown in plate xxiv. It was made of terracotta, painted inside with spirals and outside with stripes; it had a thick upper rim and strong handles; and it seems to have had the shape of a modern bath-tub (p. 232). This can hardly be one of Homer's "well-polished bath-tubs," which perhaps were made of metal. In the palace of Menelaus were two silver baths, given to him by his friend Polybus, of Egyptian Thebes, whose wife gave Helen a silver work-basket on wheels, with rim of gold, and a golden distaff. The bathroom was approached by a small anteroom, which had two opposite doors, one opening on the corridor which led to the *prodomos* and also to the courtyard, the other on the winding passage which led to the women's apartment. It was thus accessible to the women by a private way, and it could easily be reached from the central hall, while a guest arriving in the courtyard could be conducted to his bath without entering the palace, and could afterward enter the *megaron* through the side-door of the *prodomos*. It will be remembered that the two young princes in the 'Odyssey' are taken to the bath before they enter the *megaron* or are received by Menelaus. If the bathroom of the palace at Mycenæ should ever be found, it would have a most tragic interest for readers of *Æschylus*.

As none of the walls of the palace now standing are more than three feet high, they give us no help on the many chronic questions of roofing, lighting, and door-fastening. There are, of course, no remains of an upper story, but it is thought that traces of a staircase can be seen in a small room near the women's apartment. In the rubbish on the floors and in a few places on the walls themselves were found pieces of plaster with excellently preserved fresco painting, of which many specimens are given by Schliemann in colored plates. The walls were first covered with clay, then plastered with lime and painted. Only three colors, blue, red, and yellow, are found besides white and black. Many of the patterns are surprisingly modern, and some are extremely fanciful; the strangest is the figure of an acrobat (?) dancing on the back of a leaping bull, which appears in gold on the outside of the volume, and in its real colors and of nearly its real size in plate xiii. Several fragments of a remarkable frieze, on alabaster slabs about two feet wide, have been found built into a wall to which they cannot have originally belonged. The pattern consists of semi-ellipses and rosettes inlaid with pieces of blue glass and ornamented with blue glass bands. Dörpfeld is confident that we have here a veritable *kyanos*-frieze, like that which adorned the palace of Alcinoüs in the 'Odyssey.' He refers to the argument of Lepsius, showing that the Homeric *kyanos* "was not blue steel, as was universally believed, but either the natural *lapis lazuli* and the real ultramarine color, or the artificial blue Egyptian glass." On this basis Helbig ('Das Homerische Epos aus den Denkmälern erläutert') argues that, as it is impossible to conceive of the real *lapis lazuli* as used for the long bands of a frieze, therefore the *kyanos* of Homer must be the artificial kind, "a glass paste colored blue with copper ore, sometimes with cobalt, which imitated *lapis lazuli*" (see 'Tiryns,' pp. 284-292). Dörpfeld thinks that this conjecture of Helbig is wonderfully confirmed by the frieze found at Tiryns.

The discovery of this most interesting palace, with its ground plan so perfectly preserved and the character of its rooms so clearly indicated,

would be a most important event in archaeology even if we were compelled to assign it to the very latest period of the history of Tiryns. We have no building of this character, even for that recent age, which we can compare with it. But the great question with us all is, whether we have really found a genuine palace of the prehistoric kings who reigned before the Dorian invasion, in the sense in which we have their fortresses in the walls of Mycenæ and Tiryns. We have previously (*Nation*, Nos. 658, 659) given grounds for the strong presumption (which we think few will absolutely deny) that relics of royal state or even of high refinement and elegance found at Mycenæ are to be assigned to the old Achæan kings rather than to any subsequent Argolic dynasty. These arguments are equally strong when applied to Tiryns. The Dorian kings of Argos can no more have built the palace of Tiryns than they can have been buried with gold and silver treasures in the royal tombs of Mycenæ. There is every reason for believing that both these cities were seats of powerful kings in the heroic age before the Dorian invasion, and no reason whatever for believing that they were so at any subsequent period, but every reason for the opposite opinion. We have, therefore, a right to expect that those who assign either the tombs or the palace to any later date should give strong reasons for their decision. No theory of a later origin of the tombs of Mycenæ has ever found favor with scholars; on the contrary, we think the decided tendency of opinion among those who dissent from Dr. Schliemann's view has been towards an earlier rather than a later date than his. Professor Adler, in his preface to 'Tiryns' (p. xxviii.), pronounces these tombs to be the burial places of the older Perseidæ rather than of the Pelopidæ; the same view is taken by Steffen in the text of the *Karten von Mykenai* (mentioned above), published by the German Archaeological Institute; while Köhler believes them to be Carian tombs. If the palace of Tiryns is once admitted to the heroic age, there will be no reason for making it later than the great outer walls. Dörpfeld regards it as certain that the walls and the palace were built at the same time (p. 252). Among the proofs of great antiquity found in the palace itself we may mention the conclusive evidence that the pillars and the antæ were made of wood. On no other theory can we explain the fact that, while the stone bases of 31 pillars and 26 antæ remain in place, not a single fragment of the upper parts has been found. Many of the antæ-blocks have dowel-holes in their upper surfaces, evidently to hold the wood-work. Many of the bases of the columns are burned at the edges, and not in the centre. We abstain from more than a brief mention of the important collection of pottery found in and about the palace, which is described by Schliemann in chapters iii and iv, and copiously illustrated in the text and in the colored plates, because we believe that ancient pottery should be left, for some time to come, to experts to discuss, before others can have a rational opinion about its age or its relations. We leave also the wall-painting and the alabaster frieze to those who can discuss them more intelligently after careful examination of the fragments that are preserved. We can believe that the palace was built in the heroic age, and yet admit that it was preserved, repaired, and used in later times. Marks of later walls in the courts and in the *megaron* show that extensive changes were at some time made in the original plan. It is too early yet to decide how much that has now been discovered may belong to these later restorations; but this question is entirely distinct from that of the origin of the palace itself.

Dörpfeld is positive in his statements that the upper parts of the palace walls were built of sun-

dried bricks, like the buildings of Hissarlik. As no brick walls are now standing, except two which are admitted to be late, the evidence for this is found chiefly in the masses of brick debris and half-burnt bricks with which "almost all the rooms of the palace were filled" (p. 258). He also believes that the great southwest tower of the outer wall had an upper story of brick, "as scarcely any stones, but almost exclusively half-baked, sun-dried bricks and red rubbish," were found in the closed rooms within the tower. Some very ancient walls, which clearly belonged to a building older than the palace, Dr. Dörpfeld tells us, were found buried several metres deep in brick rubbish; and in this rubbish a trench was dug to make a foundation for the terrace wall of the upper citadel. No one who has read Dörpfeld's essay entitled 'Der antike Ziegelbau und sein Einfluss auf den dorischen Stil' will be surprised at these statements. We do not profess at this distance to judge independently of evidence which has convinced so good an architect and so acute an observer as Dr. Dörpfeld. But we do feel that it is now too late to dispose of all the evidence of the use of bricks in Greece and Asia Minor in the heroic age by the simple statement that no bricks were used there at that time. Perhaps this is true; but it must be proved by showing, on independent grounds, that the brick buildings at Hissarlik, Hanaï-Tepeli, Tiryns, and perhaps Mycenæ, do not belong to the heroic age, and not by merely denying the age of the buildings because they are built of brick. After his experience at Tiryns, Dörpfeld abandons the theory which holds so important a place in 'Troja,' that the brick walls of Hissarlik were baked by fires built around them after they were built, and he now believes that all the bricks used at Tiryns and at Troy were sun-dried and unbaked, and that the burning of them must be ascribed to the conflagrations which destroyed both cities. We may mention here the tragic verse preserved by Hesychius, and ascribed to Æschylus by Nauck ('Trag. Frag.,' p. 685): Τῖρυνθιον πλινθεῖα, Κυκλώ πῶς ἔδος, brick-building of Tiryns, seat of the Cyclopes.

The discovery of the palace at Tiryns at once suggests the probability that a similar one may be found on the still unexplored height of the citadel of Mycenæ, where the palace of the Pelopidæ must have stood. We hope that Dr. Schliemann will not allow his spade to rest until he has again explored Mycenæ in the light of the experience which he has gained on the hill of Tiryns.

*Chosŏn, the Land of the Morning Calm.* By Percival Lowell. Boston: Ticknor & Co.

THE number of white men who have seen Corea beyond tide-water is so few that, after Hamel and his Dutch compatriots in the seventeenth, and the French Jesuits in the nineteenth century, we wonder if there be even one. Of sailors and ship men who have touched on the coast; of diplomats, missionaries, and curious visitors to treaty ports and the capital on the river and near the sea, we have had hundreds. Some of these have written letters or taken photographs of natives and scenery; but, excepting Lieutenant Bernadon and Ensign Foulke, our naval attachés of the Legation in Séoul, we know of none who has really seen the interior of Chŏsen. These venturesome young men, bent on exploration, were recalled from their inquest by royal messengers, on the outbreak of the riots in Séoul in December a year ago.

Mr. Percival Lowell, of Boston, who accompanied from Japan the Korean Embassy to New York and Washington, returned with Hong Yŏng Sik, the Liberal envoy, and by royal invitation wintered in the capital. He saw little of the country except Pusan, the port opposite Japan,

and the road between the west-coast port Inchŏn and Séoul, barring a trip to a monastery, and the mountains and valleys near the city. His book, then, is not about Corea, but an account of one city and his adventures in it. Fortunately, Mr. Lowell is an amateur photographer, and the most valuable portion of his book lies in the illustrations. Twenty-five full-page Albertypes of Korean natives and scenery form no mean addition to our stock of knowledge concerning Chŏsen. They present new subjects; the smaller woodcuts being of minor value, and treating chiefly of costume, on which much has already been written, with illustration by pencil. When one contrasts the triple title (quadruplicate, if the Chinese ideographs be added) with the table of contents, he will find a wide discrepancy. If he expects the information which the labels suggest, he will be disappointed. Paris may be France, but Séoul is not Corea, and it is the capital and not the country which the author describes. In Appendix B Mr. Lowell says: "The name the Koreans give their land is Chosŏn. By way of forestalling any want of appreciation on the part of others, they also call it Tè Chosŏn—Tè signifying 'great.'" Now, as matter of fact, the prefix *tè*—or *ta*, as the French missionaries write it—does not mean "great," as to the words *dai* in Dai Nippon or *ta* in Ta Tsing, but "all," "entire," "the whole"; so that Tè Chosŏn, or Ta Chŏsen, means all Corea. The Koreans do indeed often use the grandiloquent phrase in Chinese fashion, as do the Japanese; but in that case it is written *tai*. The latter word is Chinese, and the former, *tè*, is pure Korean, a different native spelling and ideograph being used in each instance.

Little or no reference is made by the author to any previous writers or authorities upon the subject which his book professes to treat. His information was gained from personal observation or from natives or foreigners on the soil. It is therefore fresh and unhackneyed, and presented in perspicuous style. His English is excellent, and his text readable and highly entertaining. In many places it is decidedly humorous, but in his effort to avoid dullness he becomes laborious in his lightness. One would willingly spare his funny paragraphs for the sake of more solid knowledge of his subject. Much of his matter received at first hand from his Korean mentors is vitiated by dilution. Into the legends and traditions of the country he mixes a mass of nonsense and funny comment that lovers not a little of his text to the level of country-newspaper humor. One is vexed at the flimsiness of the narrative. Anything like exact statements, dates, or statistics it would be hard to find in the volume, except in an appended note, in which the population of the kingdom and the capital is stated at 12,000,000 and 250,000 respectively. The map, which professes to be "complete," has less than twenty names in the peninsular portion, while in the Chinese province of Shing-king, the old "walls of stakes" remain, though they have been burned into firewood and erased long ago, and Chinese settlers cultivate farms clear up to the Yalu River.

If, however, our appetite for more knowledge of the reclusive nation is whetted, instead of being satisfied, by Mr. Lowell, we have our compensation in reading his entertaining philosophy and his often original comments on what he has seen. He is best at analysis, and his chapters on "The Triad of Principles," "The Quality of Impersonality," "The Patriarchal System," "The Position of Woman," are of fascinating and permanent interest. Wholly charming is his opening chapter, "Where the Day Begins," which may rank as a classic. On native costume, diet, houses, scenery, court life, he is full and interesting. The foul and filthy things of heathenism are lightly touched upon, and everything is

looked at with imperturbable good nature. There is but one "Chapter of Horrors," in which the native procedure of justice is glanced at. Thirty decapitated human bodies, with their thirty heads tumbled off at a distance, lay in the muddy highway outside the city on a winter's day, and told of Korean severity toward thieves. Of course, Mr. Lowell saw the king, and gives us his portrait. He enjoyed much pleasure in the society of the members of the Foreign Office, and is happy in his pen pictures of "Winter Revels in a Monastery," in "The Flower-Stream Temple," and in "The House of the Sleeping Waves." At these stag-parties the only members of Korean female society present were the dancing girls, who are often highly accomplished, though vastly less numerous than their sisters in Japan. Those were the glorious days of the Liberal reign of power. Mr. Lowell speaks with just praise of Hong Yŏng Sik, who, with Ming Yŏng Ik, visited our country. The former was liberal and radical, while Ming was in reality conservative and reactionary. In the bloody feuds of December, 1884, the former was killed and the latter frightfully wounded. The hospital presided over by the American Doctor Allen is now established in Hong Yŏng Sik's house, while at last accounts Ming had fled to China. Mr. Lowell's visit was made in the nick of time.

*Fletcher of Madeley.* By the Rev. Frederic W. Macdonald, Theological Tutor, Handsworth College, Birmingham. A. C. Armstrong & Son. 1886.

JEAN GUILLAUME DE LA FLÈCHÈRE, known to the English-speaking world as Fletcher of Madeley, undoubtedly deserves a place in the series of popular biographies which is devoted to the "Heroes of Christian History." He was the Melancthon of the Methodist reformation, the gentle advocate and scholar of a movement of which John Wesley was the autocratic head, Charles Wesley the eloquent hymnist, Whitefield the flaming evangelist. It was the year 1770, the year of Whitefield's death, that afforded Fletcher his most distinguished opportunity to be of service to the faith which he had so heartily embraced. It was a service that went far to neutralize the work of Whitefield, which was intensely Calvinistic, and to make of Methodism an Arminian sect, while the Calvinistic party was reabsorbed in the Established Church—the Low Church, so called, witnessing to its vitality. It was in 1770 that Wesley wrote the famous Conference minutes that were a declaration of war against the Lady Huntingdon and Whitefield party. It was Fletcher's 'Vindication' of these "Minutes" and his simultaneous 'Checks to Antinomianism' that secured his standing in the quadrilateral of Methodist fame. It is not a little strange that Switzerland, the cradle of Calvinism, should have furnished its most vigorous antagonist in the Methodist controversy. It is even stranger that a foreigner should have so soon become the master of an English style so free and bold that it gave his argument a currency that it never could have had on its intrinsic merits. Stevens and Tyerman, the most voluminous historians of Methodism, are of the opinion that Fletcher's 'Checks' is read to-day as much as ever. His new biographer does not believe it, and no more do we. But in general his tone is one of unqualified admiration. For the work of Fletcher at Madeley his praise could hardly be too strong. Paul's fighting with beasts at Ephesus was an antetype of his experience. This, and not the aptitude for controversy which made him Wesley's "designated successor," was his crown of honor.

A more critical mind would have brought to light some aspects of his character that Mr. Macdonald has left, perhaps unconsciously, in the

deepest shadow. His sense of blood-relationship was expressed by a remarkable indifference: the entreaties of his widowed mother to visit her he resisted, lest he should "lose precious time and incur expense." The abject humility of his letters to Charles Wesley and Whitefield has no doubt been much admired, as one proof among many of his "saintliness." Here is an example: "That such a sinful worm as I should have the privilege to converse" with Wesley, "the thought amazes, confounds me, and fills my eyes with tears of humble joy." "I am confounded," he writes Whitefield, "when I receive a letter from you. Present and eternal contempt from Christ and all his members is what I deserve." Wesley and Whitefield probably knew how much these phrases meant; and when he says, "My infancy was vicious and my youth still more so," proper allowance must be made for the religious habit of the time, so prone to wreak itself upon expression.

## BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

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 Birkbeck, W. L. Historical Sketch of the Distribution of Land in England, with Suggestions for Some Improvement in the Law. Macmillan & Co. \$1.50.  
 Bluntschli, J. K. The Theory of the State. Translated. Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Macmillan.  
 Bowie, A. J., Jr. A Practical Treatise on Hydraulic Mining in California. D. Van Nostrand.  
 Crane, W. The Sirens Three: A Poem. Macmillan & Co. \$3.50.  
 Fergusson, Alexander. The Laird of Lag; A Life Sketch. Edinburgh: David Douglas; New York: A. D. F. Randolph & Co. \$4.  
 Field, M. The Father's Tragedy; William Rufus; Loyalty or Love? Henry Holt & Co. \$1.75.  
 Fisher, G. P. Outlines of Universal History; Designed as a Textbook and for Private Reading. Ivison, Blakeman, Taylor & Co. \$3.  
 Grove, Sir G. Dictionary of Music and Musicians. Part XXI. Verse to Water-Music. Macmillan & Co.  
 Gréville, Henry. Cleopatra. Translated. Boston: Ticknor & Co. \$1.25.  
 Hay, Mary C. Lester's Secret. Harper & Brothers. 30 cents.  
 Harding, B. F. Greek Inflection; or Object Lessons in Greek Philology. Boston: Ginn & Co. 55 cents.  
 Harper's Weekly. Vol. 29. Harper & Brothers.

Harper's Bazaar. Vol. 18. Harper & Brothers.  
 Hosmer, J. K. The Story of the Jews. G. P. Putnam's Sons. \$1.50.  
 How to be Happy though Married. Charles Scribner's Sons. \$1.25.  
 Johnson's New General Cyclopædia and Copper Plate Atlas of the World. 2 vols. A. J. Johnson & Co.  
 Lee, Harriet and Sophia. Canterbury Tales. 3 vols. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. \$3.75.  
 Lotze, H. Outlines of Psychology. Translated by G. T. Ladd. Boston: Ginn & Co. \$1.  
 Lord, A. M. A Book of Verses. Boston: Cupples, Upham & Co. 75 cents.  
 Mahoney, J. S. Life of Parnell, and What he has Achieved for Ireland. Excelsior Publishing Co.  
 Maine, Sir H. S. Popular Government. Four Essays. Henry Holt & Co. \$2.75.  
 Montgomery, D. H. The Leading Facts of English History. Boston: Ginn & Co. \$1.12.  
 Metcalfe, Capt. H. The Cost of Manufactures and the Administration of Workshops Public and Private. John Wiley & Sons. \$5.  
 Morris, Dr. R. T. How We Treat Wounds To-day. G. P. Putnam's Sons. \$1.  
 One Hundred Years of Temperance: A Memorial Volume of the Centennial Temperance Conference. National Temperance Society. \$3.  
 Oliphant, Mrs. A Country Gentleman. Harper & Bros. 20 cents.  
 Parker, J. The People's Bible. Vol. II. The Book of Exodus. Funk & Wagnalls. \$1.75.  
 Progressive Orthodoxy: A Contribution to the Christian Interpretation of Christian Doctrines. By the editors of the *Andover Review*. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. \$1.75.  
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